THE SURVEY

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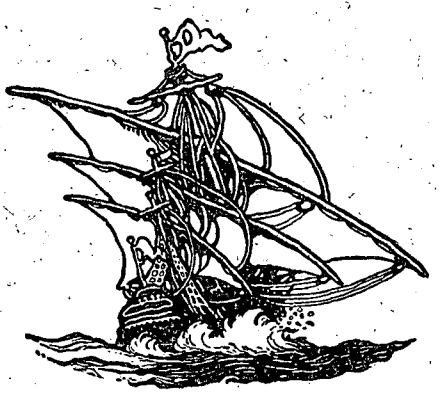

The New Pied Pipers

AND WHAT THEY PAY

From Girard to Hershey with his sixty million dollar benefaction and the plunge of the Order of the Moose into the field of ancient orphanage endowments

By Neva R. Deardorff

The Effect of Science on Social Institutions — *Bertrand Russell*

Digging in for the Eight-Hour Day — *Alpha B. Buse*

Manufacturers of Consent — *Francis Hackett*

Silk Stockings — *Eleanor Rowland Wembridge*

Up Stream on the Rouge: An Interview with Henry Ford — *Paul U. Kellogg*

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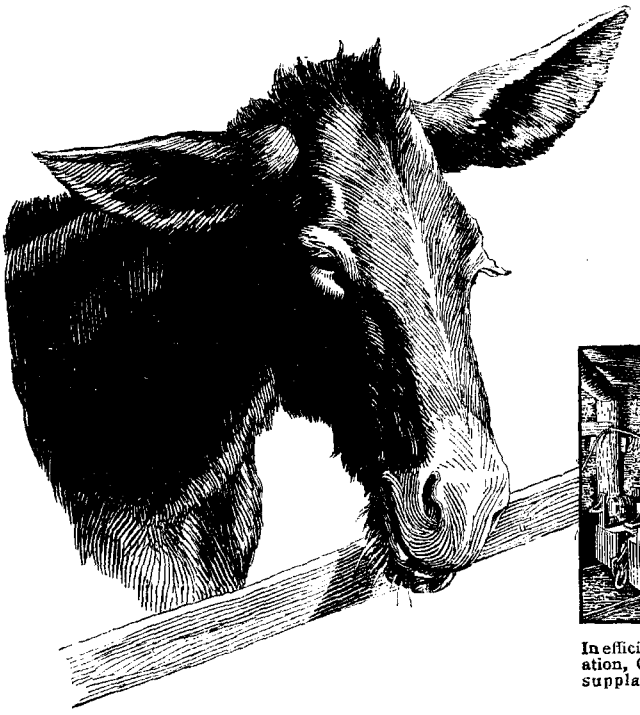

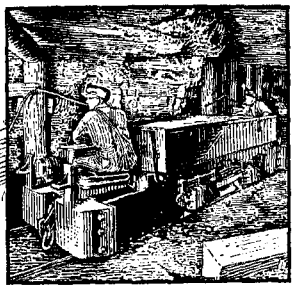

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GENERAL ELECTRIC

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THE SURVEY

Graphic Number

Vol. LII, No. 1 April 1, 1924

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The Gist of It

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S denunciation of the Conscription Act kept him in England during the War and prevented his accepting a call to Harvard. Since, he has been traveling—Russia in 1920, China in 1920-21, and now he comes to America. This March an Irishman got into difficulty at the port of New York. He brought with him some shamrocks for St. Patrick's Day, and our quarantine against plant infections barred them out. Were it war time, there would be a great to do over Mr. Russell's ingress. He has infectious ideas; and a family tree concealed about his baggage. With respect to the latter we can do no better than quote The Living Age: ". . . His grandfather, Lord John Russell, was one of the greatest Liberal Prime Ministers of the last century. He fought year after year for the emancipation of the Jews, was a staunch free-trader, promoted education, and was a champion of freedom for Canada and Australia. . . . The same devotion to convictions, however unpopular, characterized his son—Bertrand Russell's father—who wrote strongly for free thought in religion. Now comes the grandson, who has gone so far beyond the popular thought of the time in his philosophy of freedom that one can hardly imagine him holding any political office, not to speak of the Premiership. But he has faced unpopularity, ignominy, a jail cell, with the same firm loyalty to what he believes to be true."

THE myth makers have never agreed as to what the Piper of Hamelin did once the cleft of Koppelberg Mountain closed after his cavalcade of children. He cared no snap of the finger for their parents, of that we may be sure; but, no ogre he, he must have had the children on his hands to care for and bring up. There are various legends about what happened. For our purpose he may be considered the First Founder. What of his successors? Miss Deardorff sympathetically but searchingly shows how mounting standards of child care in home and community have challenged the children's institutions, which long have been a favorite object of bequest; how mounting costs follow the standards; and how, whether they be great endowments or the adventures in mutual aid of a popular fraternal order, these Pipers are at the crossroads. Her findings are the result of field work carried on as associate editor of The Survey. To her appraisal she brought earlier experience as assistant director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, chief of the division of vital statistics of the Philadelphia Bureau of Health and assistant to the director general of civilian relief of the American Red Cross. Miss Deardorff is this spring relinquishing both her editorial work and her associate professorship of social economy at Bryn Mawr to become the executive of the newly created Pennsylvania Children's Code Commission.

MRS. WEMBRIDGE'S etchings of girl life will enliven our Graphics throughout spring and summer. Formerly professor of psychology at Reed College; today psychologist of the Women's Protective Association of Cleveland, this author is a rare story-teller.

MR. HACKETT'S character sketches of the League of Nations tell more than a shelf of state documents published in all the colors of the rainbow.

ALPHA BUSE had charge of the industrial investigations for the survey of Prague, which was made in 1919-20 by the American Y. W. C. A. on invitation of Dr. Alice Masaryk, and was the occasion of the Survey's special number on that ancient capital of the new republic (three years ago). Since then labor and immigration questions in Paris and London have engaged her, and she has rounded off this period of research with studies at the London School of Economics.

IT is seldom that posthumous publication gives such a tug to the heart strings as the article which Felipe Carillo wrote for the forthcoming Mexican number of Survey Graphic (May). The beloved Maya leader, murdered in the early days of this year's military rebellion, will unquestionably become an almost legendary figure as time goes on. Frank Tannenbaum, who gathered the materials of our Mexican issue for us, spent some days with Carillo in Yucatan and his article may be said to be his last message to his people—and to those who are watching their struggle to bring in a new order of communal living in the seat of an ancient civilization.

READERS of The Survey had Savel Zimand to thank for our Irish number brought out the week the Free State came into being, with its articles by Sir Horace Plunkett, A. E., James Stephens and other leaders of the new Ireland. Mr. Zimand, now in the Orient, has cabled we may expect an article from him on the release of Gandhi.

HOW far Henry Ford has gone on the River Rouge in developing small water powers and establishing village industries was set forth in the Giant Power number of Survey Graphic. How far he has got in using factory workers for harvest hands, farm dwellers to operate his small plants, is taken up in this concluding installment.—On the whole, these articles will have accomplished their purpose if the reader catches from them one thing which differentiates Henry Ford from the average business man. He is engaged in a large scale piece of industrial research and experimentation which he carries on regardless of cost and more in the spirit of a youngster playing with tools than that of a serious minded laboratory expert. What he does may have tremendous social significance or it may have none at all. Superintendents, dam builders, foremen, $6-a-day men and others give their views and the setting is the little converted village planing mill at Northville.

CORRECTION:—In the article Pools of Power, by H. G. Butler, Survey Graphic for March, page 606, column 2, the total output for 1922 of the great Pacific Coast transmission system was 4¼ *billion* kilowatt hours (not million); the estimate for next year, 6 *billion*.

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Giant Power

said of the Giant Power Special Number of Survey Graphic (March 1924)

". . . it does look grand."—WILLIAM HARD.

". . . a Giant Number."—R. W. PALMER, *managing editor, The Printers' Ink Publications.*

". . . monumental and impressive.—ELLERY SEDGWICK, *editor, The Atlantic Monthly.*

". . . a bully good piece of magazine editing."—JAMES MELVIN LEE, *director, Department of Journalism, New York University.*

". . . a very important public service. . . ."—HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM, *editor, The American City.*

". . . a splendid piece of work."—S. S. MCCLURE, *editor, McClure's Magazine.*

". . . an excellent piece of work. My sincere congratulations!"—H. L. MENCKEN, *editor, The American Mercury.*

"A constructive public service of the first order."—GOVERNOR PINCHOT *of Pennsylvania* at Giant Power dinner of Survey Associates.

"The whole number certainly has an immense social interest."—GUSTAVUS S. PAINE, *associate editor, The International Interpreter.*

"We appreciate what you have done in submitting this matter to the people, and we feel you have done justice to same. Sir Adam is especially pleased with the article by Mrs. Bruère. . . ."—FREDERICK A. GABY, *chief engineer, Hydro-Electric Power Commission, Ontario.*

". . . I read them with a good deal of interest a satisfaction. I hope that we will be able to make son impression upon our reactionary friends in the Asse bly who seem to feel that these resources of ou should be privately developed."—ALFRED E. SMIT *Governor of New York.*

". . . we jointly marveled how you can manage do it.—F. G. TRYON, *statistician, U. S. Geologic Survey.*

"I want to express to you my enthusiasm over the Gia Power Number of the Survey Graphic. This is an obje lesson in good editing. I have always believed that the ed tor's job is creative, but examples to prove my thesis are few."— EDWARD EYRE HUNT, *secretary, the President's Conference Unemployment.*

"Please send me ten copies of the March issue of the Su vey Graphic? I wish them for distribution to our Ne Hampshire state committee investigating water power a electrical development. . . ."—ROBERT P. BASS, *Concord, N. H*

"Enthusiastic congratulations on the Giant Power Numbe From the City Planner's point of view I am just now inspir by the feeling that the material in this number furnishes t basis for a new synthesis in American city planning, or, bette town and regional planning. . . . The relating of Gia Power now becomes one of the fundamentals."—JACOB CRANE, JR., *technical executive, Chicago Regional Planni project.*

"The Giant Power number of the 'Survey Graphic' is o of which you may well be proud. There is no question b that this is one of the most important developments for whi our present generation has to plan if the technical developmer are to be put at the best service of humanity. . . ."—SAMU GOMPERS, *president, American Federation of Labor.*

". . . While I am at it I want to congratulate you and yo associates on the very splendid job you have done in frami up this number. Unfortunately it is too easily establish that your group is the only one in the country that would competent first to sense the importance of this matter a then to present it in such splendid fashion. I realize that is a pretty big undertaking even for the Survey and that y must have had your weak moments when you wonder whether the effort was justified. For all this effort and trib lation we of the Giant Power Survey are deeply grateful." MORRIS L. COOKE, *director, Pennsylvania Giant Power Surve*

"This is just one more lot of Kellogg-Survey bunk. useless printing so far as real human progress is concerne

"It will only benefit the few who own the earth. The re will struggle as though there had never been any giant pow

"Why do you send this rot to single taxers?

"Surely no one but land monopolists could be interest in super-power.

"Four hundred years ago while the land of England w common the universal day for labor was eight hours and t pay for the eight hours equalled the price of a sheep. Th was larger pay for common labor than we have had since stea was discovered for power and it is more than common lab will be paid after we have electric super-power unless priv property in land is abolished. . . ."—H. W. NOREN.

"Mrs. Bruère's story on "Following the Hydro" hit us rig in the eye. You see, we *live* in "The Hydro Country" a were particularly pleased and puffed up like a pouter pigeon see the name of our small town, Watford, flashed into t limelight, along with our neighboring town, Petrolia, t famous oil town. . . . "We could also add a little testimo to the benefits of Niagara Falls to a little country print shop h ours. 'Hydro' melts our linotype pot and keeps it just rig every minute from Monday morning till Saturday night; melts the slugs to cast pigs, cleans our dross, turns our moto to drive presses, linotype, etc., and makes the country pri shop a heaven to what it was twenty years ago."—W. AYLESWORTH, *publisher, Watford (Ontario) Guide-Advoca*

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THE SURVEY—Twice-a-month—$5.00 a year
SURVEY GRAPHIC—Monthly—$3.00 a year

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THE SURVEY, *published semi-monthly and copyright* 1924 *by* SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC., 112 *East* 19 *Street, New York.*

Price: This issue 25 *cents a copy;* $5 *a year; Canadian postage* 50 *cents; foreign postage,* $1 *extra. Changes of address should be mailed us two weeks in advance. When payment is by check a receipt will be sent only upon request.*

Entered as second-class matter, March 25, 1909, *at the post office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of March* 3, 1879. *Acceptance for mailing at a special rate of postage provided for in Section* 1103, *Act of October* 3, 1917, *authorized on June* 26, 1918.

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"Integration of these great power resources raises questions of political and social considerations which ought to be well studied before it shall be too late. Survey Graphic has made a constructive contribution toward the materials of judgment through its symposium, including expressions of opinion from the exponents of the outstanding divergent policies against a background of carefully gathered and ordered facts. . . ."—*Editorial, The State, Columbia, S. C.*

"Many of the difficulties of the human race may be explained by man's inability to understand important changes until too late. Certainly few foresaw the effects which steam factories, rapid transit and instant communication have brought about in all industrial countries. The alterations in living conditions since Thomas Jefferson was President of the United States are in many respects more marked than those which had been brought about during the previous two thousand years, and yet there was no social prophet to foretell the meaning of steam and electricity. Now, however, 'giant power' is in prospect, and Governor Pinchot, of Pennsylvania; Secretary Hoover; Governor Smith; Sir Adam Beck, of Ontario; Gerard Swope, of the General Electric Company; Samuel Gompers and others have united in pointing to the not less revolutionary changes which may follow the development of national pools of energy. In the Survey Graphic each gives his view."—*Editorial, New York Telegram and Mail.*

". . . The Survey Graphic makes of its March issue a Giant Power number and devotes it in a remarkable way by illustration and articles from leading conservationists and industrialists to the truth that the Teapot Dome oil 'is a drop in the bucket compared with the energy resources of the country at stake in the new development of giant power from coal mine and waterfall,' and particularly from waterfall and the immense possibilities of cheapened use of electrical energy from both sources through the development of long-distance transmission without the old waste. Governor Pinchot, Henry Ford, Secretary Hoover and many others figure in this notable symposium over a look ahead and to the age successive to this passing oil 'age' of fevered memories. So does Governor Smith, whose contribution is most important in calling public attention to the way the harnessing of this State's vast water-powers is being retarded by a play of petty politics at Albany. At the bottom of this obstruction to our own home water-power development is the same greed of private interests in control of monopolistic natural resources for private profit which is responsible for the Nation's oil scandal. Those interests and their political backers should take warning accordingly. . . ."—*Editorial New York World.*

". . . The Giant Power Number of the Survey Graphic, just out, gives an extraordinary vivid and comprehensive picture of the possibilities of the future. Every national issue—oil, coal, conservation, public ownership, Muscle Shoals—is related to the question of giant power; our future as a nation may be determined by it. The editors of the Survey deserve public gratitude for presenting so significant and neglected a subject so attractively."—*Editorial, New York Nation.*

". . . Colossal as the increase of man's power over the forces of nature was at that time, it is small in comparison with what lies in the future. Men of imagination and of engineering skill see in earth and sky and water, power which man has not yet learned to employ. Is the employment of that power going to bring the world new misery or is it going to bring a new emancipation? The answer to that question depends upon the degree to which future developments in the use of power are anticipated. If these developments are foreseen, power will not be a master of man, but his servant. If they are not foreseen, power will become a new source of privilege for the few and of wretchedness or enslavement for the many. It is for this reason that we heartily welcome the appearance of the March number of the 'Survey Graphic,' which is devoted to an intelligent and, what is equally important, intelligible consideration of this giant power. . . ."—*Editorial, The Outlook.*

Giant Power

A number to put in the hands of librarians, students and public officials

Dear Editor:

At a meeting of the Monday Lunch Club, of which I have the honor of being chairman, the following vote was passed unanimously and with enthusiasm. It gives me great pleasure to transmit it to you.

"The Monday Luncheon Group sends its congratulations to The Survey upon the success of its enterprise in presenting the facts as to industrial power in The Survey Graphic for March, a rare journalistic achievement, a permanent contribution to the world's knowledge, and an effective linking of material and social interests."

I am sending herewith a list of the members nearly all of whom were present at the luncheon where your latest graphic number was discussed.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) A. B. EMMONS, 2D., *M. D.*,
Chairman.

Boston, March 3, 1924.

Membership of the Monday Lunch Club

RICHARD K. CONANT—*State Commissioner of Public Welfare —State House.*
PARKER B. FIELD—*director of Children's Mission.*
ROBERT W. KELSO—*secretary, Boston Council of Social Agencies.*
EUGENE R. KELLEY—*State Commissioner of Health.*
FRANK L. LOCKE—*president, Y. M. C. U.*
WILLIAM H. PEAR—*general agent, Boston Provident Assn.*
FRANK E. WING—*director, Boston Dispensary.*
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SANFORD BATES—*commissioner, Penal Institutions, State House.*
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ALFRED F. WHITMAN—*executive secretary, Boston Children's Aid Society.*
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Here's How

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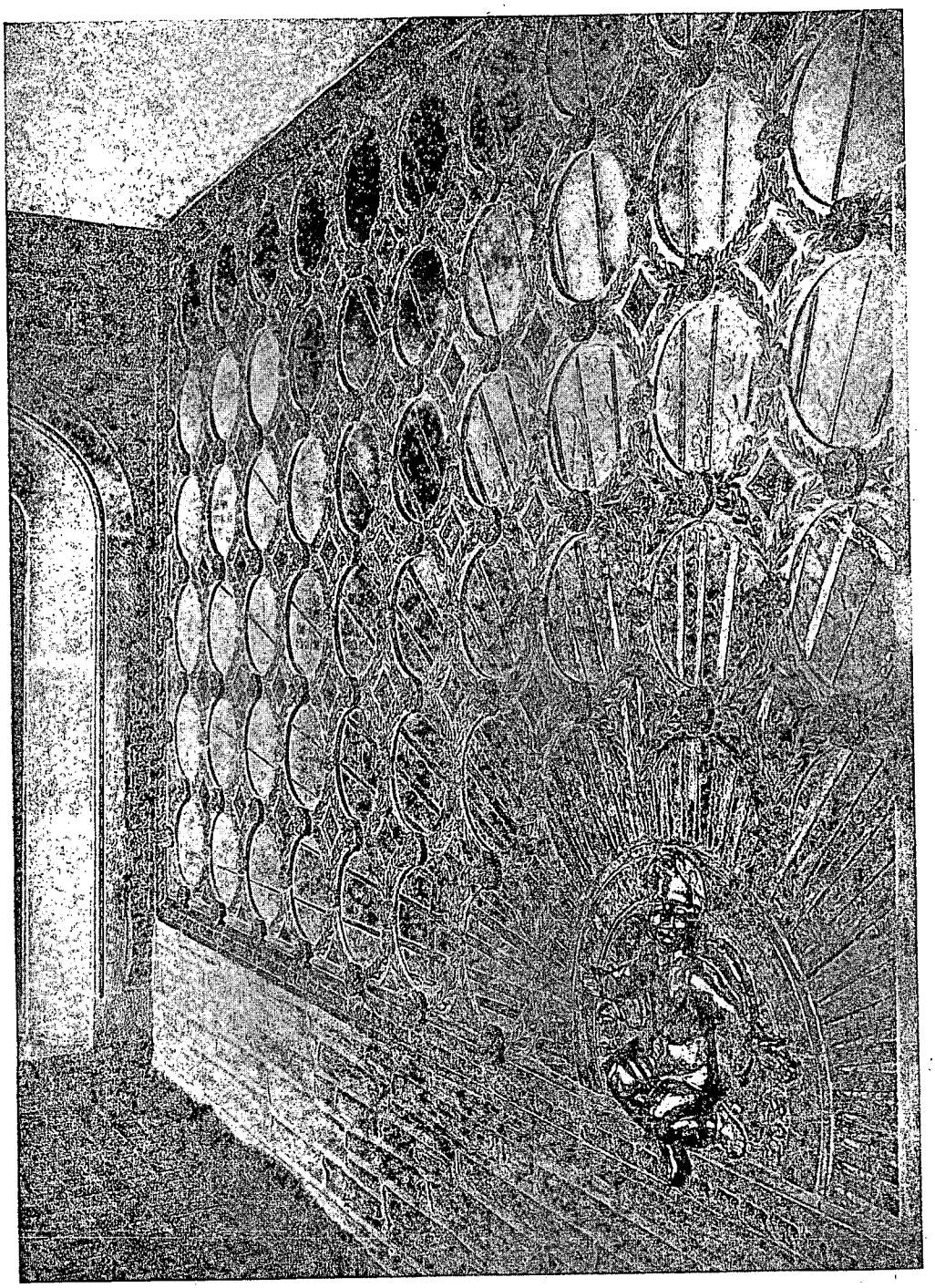

From Architectural Record

SUN BABY

A decoration in the cloister of Cornflower cottage, Carson College for Orphan Girls, a pace-maker in the institutional care of children (page 36)

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THE SURVEY

GRAPHIC NUMBER

APRIL 1, 1924

Volume LII
No. 1

The Effect of Science on Social Institutions

By BERTRAND RUSSELL

Drawings by Hendrik Willem Van Loon

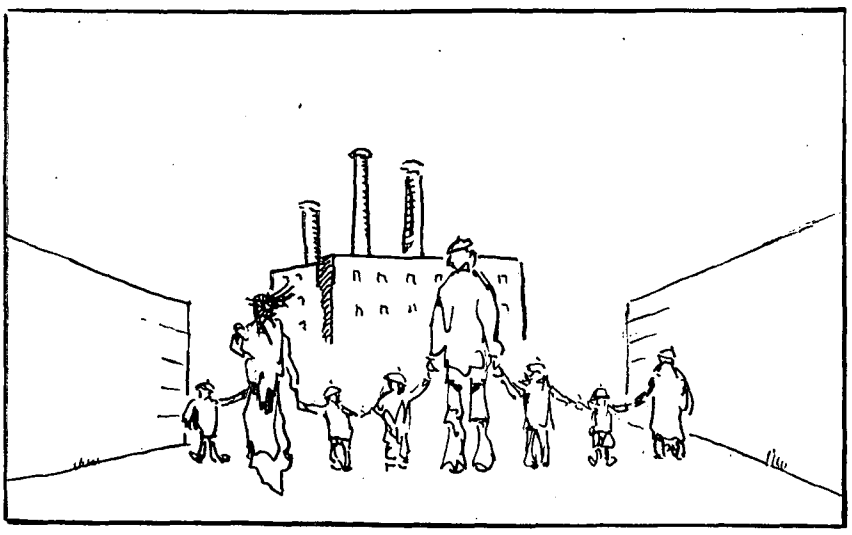
If the reader wishes none of his ideas or feelings disturbed, he is counseled not to read the provocative pages which follow. Mr. Van Loon read them, not to his upsetting but to his uprising, to come back in rejoinder in a subsequent issue. Mathematician, philosopher, pacifist, publicist, aristocrat, revolutionary critic of social and political traditions, Mr. Russell has unusual shafts in the quiver of lectures he brings to America this spring. His writings are prized for their stimulus by some of our most creative thinkers, both where they follow him and where they break away.

THE world in which we live differs profoundly from that of Queen Anne's time, and this difference is mainly attributable to science. That is to say, the difference would be very much less than it is but for various scientific discoveries, and but for what has resulted from those discoveries by the operation of ordinary human nature. The changes that have been brought about have been partly good, partly bad; whether, in the end, science will prove to have been a blessing or a curse to mankind is, to my mind, still a doubtful question.

A science may affect human life in two different ways. On the one hand, without altering men's passions or their general outlook, it may increase their power of gratifying their desires. On the other hand, it may operate through an effect upon the imaginative conception of the world, the theology or philosophy which is accepted in practice by energetic men. The latter is a fascinating study, but I shall almost wholly ignore it, in order to bring my subject within a manageable compass. I shall confine myself largely to the effect of science in enabling us to gratify our passions more freely, which has hitherto been far the more important of the two.

From our point of view, we may divide the sciences into three groups: physical, biological, and anthropological. In the physical group I include chemistry, and broadly speaking, any science concerned with the properties of matter apart from life. In the anthropological group I include all studies specially concerned with man: human physiology and psychology (between which no sharp line can be drawn), anthropology, history, sociology and economics. All these studies can be illuminated by considerations drawn from biology; for instance, Rivers threw a new light on parts of economics by adducing facts about landed property among birds during the breeding season. But in spite of their connection with biology—a connection which is likely to grow closer as time goes on—they are broadly distinguished from biology by their methods and data, and deserve to be grouped apart, at any rate in a sociological inquiry.

The effect of the biological sciences, so far, has been very small. No doubt Darwinism and the idea of evolution affected men's imaginative outlook; arguments were derived in favour of free competition, and also of nationalism. But these effects were of the sort that I propose not to consider. It is probable that great effects will come from these sciences sooner or later. Mendelism might have revolutionized agriculture, and no doubt some similar theory will do so sooner or later. Bacteriology may enable us to exterminate our enemies by disease. The study of heredity may in time make eugenics an exact sci-



Industrialism increases the productivity of labor, and thus makes more luxuries possible. At first, in England, the chief luxury achieved was a larger population

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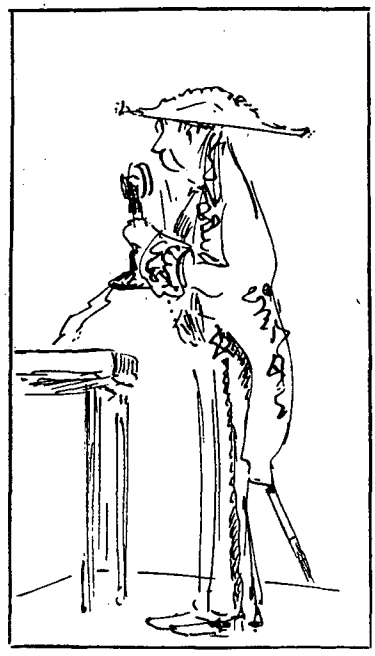
ence, and perhaps we shall in a later age be able to determine at will the sex of our children. This would probably lead to an excess of males, involving a complete change in family institutions. But these speculations belong to the future.

The anthropological sciences are those from which, a priori, we might have expected the greatest social effects, but hitherto this has not proved to be the case, partly because these sciences are mostly still at an early stage of development. Even economics has not so far had much effect. Where it has seemed to have, this is because it advocated what was independently desired. Hitherto, the most effective of the anthropological sciences has been medicine, through its influence on sanitation and public health, and through the fact that it has discovered how to deal with malaria and yellow fever. Birth-control is also a very important social fact which comes into this category. But although the future effect of the anthropological sciences (to which I shall return presently) is illimitable, the effect up to the present has been confined within fairly narrow limits.



The ambassador takes orders from home

ONE general observation to begin with. Science has increased man's control over nature, and might therefore be supposed likely to increase his happiness and well-being. This would be the case if men were rational, but in fact they are bundles of passions and instincts. An animal species in a stable environment, if it does not die out, acquires an equilibrium between its passions and the conditions of its life. If the conditions are suddenly altered, the equilibrium is upset. Wolves in a state of nature have difficulty in getting food, and therefore need the stimulus of a very insistent hunger. The result is that their descendants, domestic dogs, over-eat if they are allowed to do so. When a certain amount of something is useful, and the difficulty of obtaining it is diminished, instinct will usually lead an animal to excess in the new circumstances. The sudden change product by science has upset the balance between our instincts and our circumstances, but in directions not sufficiently noticed. Over-eating is not a serious danger, but over-fighting is. The human instincts of power and rivalry, like the dog's wolfish appetite, will need to be artificially curbed if industrialism is to succeed.

MUCH the greatest part of the changes which science has made in social life is due to the physical sciences, as is evident when we consider that they brought about the industrial revolution. This is a trite topic, about which I shall say as little as my subject permits. There are, however, some points which must be made.

First, industrialism still has great parts of the earth's surface to conquer. Russia and India are very imperfectly industrialized; China hardly at all. In South America there is room for immense development. One of the effects of industrialism is to make the world an economic unit; its ultimate consequences will be very largely due to this fact. But before the world can be effectively organized as a unit, it will probably be necessary to develop industrially all the regions capable of development that are at present backward. The effects of industrialism change as it becomes more wide-spread; this must be remembered in any attempt to argue from its past to its future.

The second point about industrialism is that it increases the productivity of labor, and thus makes more luxuries possible. At first, in England, the chief luxury achieved was a larger population, with an actual lowering of the standard of life. Then came a golden age when wages increased, hours of labor diminished, and simultaneously the middle-class grew more prosperous. That was while Great Britain was still supreme. With the growth of foreign industrialism, a new epoch began. Industrial organizations have seldom succeeded in becoming world-wide, and have consequently become national. Competition, formerly between individual firms, is now mainly between nations, and is therefore conducted by methods quite different from those contemplated by the classical economists.

Modern industrialism is a struggle between nations for two things, markets and raw materials, as well as for the sheer pleasure of dominion. The labor which is set free from providing the necessaries of life tends to be more and more absorbed by national rivalry. There are first the armed forces of the state; then those who provide munitions of war, from the raw minerals up to the finished product; then the diplomatic and consular services; then the teachers of patriotism in schools; then the press. All of these perform other functions as well, but the chief purpose is to minister to international competition. As another class whose labors are devoted to the same end, we must add a considerable proportion of the men of science. These men invent continually more elaborate methods of attack and defence. The net results of their labors is to diminish the proportion of the population that can be put into the fighting line, since more are required for munitions. This might seem a boon, but in fact war is now-a-days primarily against the civilian population, and in a defeated country they are liable to suffer just as much as the soldiers.

It is science above all that has determined the importance of raw materials in international competition. Coal and iron and oil, especially, are the bases of power, and thence of wealth. The nation which possesses them, and has the industrial skill required to utilize them in war, can acquire markets by armed force, and levy tribute upon less fortunate nations. Economists have underestimated the part played by military prowess in the acquisition of wealth. The landed aristocracies of Europe were, in origin, warlike invaders. Their defeat by the bourgeosie in the French Revolution, and the fear which this generated in the Duke of Wellington, facilitated the rise of the middle class. The wars of the eighteenth century decided that England was to be richer than France. The traditional economist's rules

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for the distribution of wealth hold only when men's actions are governed by law, i. e. when most people think the issue unimportant. The issues that people have considered vital have been decided by civil wars or wars between nations. And for the present, owing to science, the art of war consists in possessing coal, iron, oil, and the industrial skill to work them. For the sake of simplicity, I omit other raw materials, since they do not affect the essence of our problem.

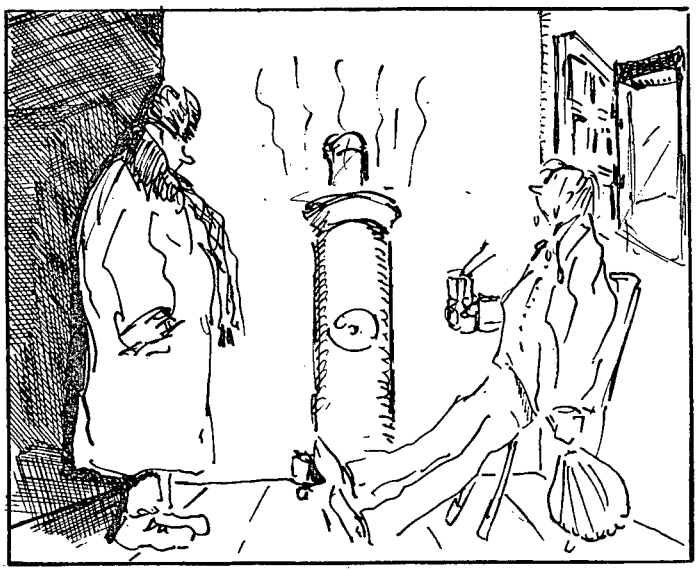
We may say, therefore, speaking very generally, that men have used the increased productivity which they owe to science for three chief purposes in succession: first, to increase the population; then, to raise the standard of comfort; and finally, to devote more energy to war. This last result has been chiefly brought about by competition for markets, which led to competition for raw materials, especially the raw materials of munitions.

THE stimulation of nationalism which has taken place in modern times is, however, due very largely to another factor, namely the increase of organization, which is of the very essence of industrialism. Wherever expensive fixed capital is required, organization on a large scale is of course necessary. In view of the economies of large-scale production, organization in marketing also becomes of great importance. For some purposes, if not for all, many industries come to be organized nationally, so as to be in effect one business in each nation.

Science has not only brought about the need of large organizations, but also the technical possibility of their existence. Without railways, telegraphs, and telephones, control from a centre is very difficult. In ancient empires, and in China down to modern times, provinces were governed by practically independent satraps or proconsuls, who were appointed by the central government, but decided almost all questions on their own initiative. If they displeased the sovereign, they could only be controlled by civil war, of which the issue was doubtful. Until the invention of the telegraph, ambassadors had a great measure of independence, since it was often necessary to act without waiting for orders from home. What applied in politics applied also in business; an organization controlled from the centre had to be very loosely knit, and to allow much autonomy to subordinates. Opinion as well as action was difficult to mould from a centre, and local variations marred the uniformity of party creeds.

Now-a-days all this is changed. Telegraph, telephone, and wireless make it easy to transmit orders from a centre; railways and steamers make it easy to transport troops in case the orders are disobeyed. Modern methods of printing and advertising make it enormously cheaper to produce and distribute one newspaper with a large circulation than many with small circulations; consequently, in so far as the press controls opinion, there is uniformity, and, in particular, there is uniformity of news. Elementary education, except in so far as religious denominations introduce variety, is conducted on a uniform pattern decided by the state, by means of teachers whom the state has trained, as far as possible, to imitate the regularity and mutual similarity of machines produced to standard. Thus the material and psychological conditions for a great intensity of organization have increased *pari passu*, but the basis of the whole development is scientific invention in the purely physical realm. Increased productivity has played its part, by making it possible to set apart more labor for propaganda, under which head are to be included advertisement, the cinema, the press, education, politics, and religion. Broadcasting is a new method likely to acquire great potency as soon as people are satisfied that it is *not* a method of propaganda.

Political controversies, as Graham Wallas has pointed out, ought to be conducted in quantitative terms. If sociology were one of the sciences that had affected social institutions (which it is not), this would be the case. The dispute between anarchism and bureaucracy at present tends to take the form of one side maintaining that we want no organization, while the other maintains that we want as much as possible. A person imbued with the scientific spirit would hardly even examine these extreme positions. Some people think that we keep our rooms too hot for health, others that we keep them too cold. If this were a political question, one party would maintain that the best temperature is the absolute zero, the other that it is the melting point of iron. Those who maintained any intermediate position would be abused as timorous time-servers, concealed agents of the other side, men who ruined the enthusiasm of a sacred cause by tepid appeals to mere reason. Any man who had the courage to say that our rooms ought to be neither too hot nor too cold would be abused by both parties, and probably shot in No Man's Land. Possibly some day politics may become more rational, but so far there is not the faintest indication of a change in this direction.



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TO a rational mind, the question is not: Do we want organization or do we not? The question is: How much organization do we want, and where and when and of what kind? In spite of a temperamental leaning to anarchism, I am persuaded that an industrial world cannot maintain itself against internal disruptive forces without a great deal more organization than we have at present. It is not the amount of organization, but its kind and its purposes, that cause our troubles. But before tackling this question,

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let us pause for a moment to ask ourselves what is the measure of the intensity of organization in a given community.

A man's acts are partly determined by spontaneous impulse, partly by the conscious or unconscious effects of the various groups to which he belongs. A man who works (say) on a railway or in a mine is, in his working hours, almost entirely determined in his actions by those who direct the collective labor of which he forms part. If he decides to strike, his action is again not individual, but determined by his union. When he votes, party caucuses have limited his choice to one of two or three men, and party propaganda has induced him to accept *in toto* one of the two or three blocks of opinions which form the rival party programmes. His choice between the parties may be individual, but it may also be determined by the action of some group, such as a trade union, which collectively supports one party. His newspaper-reading exposes him to great organized forces; so does the cinema, if he goes to it. His choice of a wife is probably spontaneous, except that he must choose a woman of his own class. But in the education of his children he is almost entirely powerless; they must have the education which is provided. Organization thus determines many vital things in his life. Compare him with a handicraftsman or peasant proprietor who cannot read and does not have his children educated, and it becomes clear what is meant by saying that industrialism has increased the intensity of organization. To define this term, we must, I think, exclude the unconscious effects of groups, except as causes facilitating the conscious effects. We may define the intensity of organization to which a given individual is subject as the proportion of his acts which is determined by the orders or advice of some group, expressed through democratic decisions or executive officers. The intensity of organization in a community may then be defined as the average intensity for its several members.

The intensity of organization is increased not only when a man belongs to more organizations, but also when the organizations to which he already belongs play a larger part in his life, as, for example, the state plays a larger part in war than in peace.

Another matter which needs to be treated quantitatively is the degree of democracy, oligarchy, or monarchy in an organization. No organization belongs completely to any one of the three types. There must be executive officers, who will often in practice be able to decide policy, even if in theory they cannot do so. And even if their power depends upon persuasion, they may so completely control the relevant publicity that they can always rely upon a majority. The directors of a railway company, for instance, are to all intents and purposes uncontrolled by the shareholders, who have no adequate means of organizing an opposition if they should wish to do so. In America, a railroad president is almost a monarch. In party politics, the power of leaders, although it depends upon persuasion, continually increases as printed propaganda becomes more important. For these reasons, even where formal democracy increases, the real degree of democratic control tends to diminish, except on a few questions which rouse strong popular passions.

The result of these causes is that, in consequence of scientific inventions which facilitate centralization and propaganda, groups become more organized, more disciplined, more group-conscious, and more docile to leaders. The effect of leaders on followers is increased, and the control of events by a few prominent personalities becomes more marked.

IN all this there would be nothing very tragic, but for the fact, with which science has nothing to do, that organization is almost wholly national. If men were actuated by the love of gain, as the older economists supposed, this would not be the case; the same causes which have led to national trusts would have led to international trusts. This has happened in a few instances, but not on a sufficiently wide scale to affect politics or economics very vitally. Rivalry is, with most well-to-do energetic people, a stronger motive than love of money. Successful rivalry requires organization of rival forces; the tendency is for a business such as oil, for example, to organize itself into two rival groups, between them covering the world. They might, of course, combine, and they would no doubt increase their wealth if they did so. But combination would take the zest out of life. The object of a football team, one might say, is to kick goals. If two rival teams combined, and kicked the ball alternately over the two goals, many more goals would be scored. Nevertheless no one suggests that this should be done, the object of a football team being not to kick goals but to win. So the object of a big business is not to make money, but to win in the contest with some other business. If there were no other business to be defeated, the whole thing would become uninteresting. This rivalry has attached itself to nationalism, and enlisted the support of the ordinary citizens of the countries concerned; they seldom know what it is that they are supporting, but, like the spectators at a football match, they grow enthusiastic for their own side. The harm that is being done by science and industrialism is almost wholly due to the fact that, while they have proved strong enough to produce a *national* organization of economic forces, they have not proved strong enough to produce an international organization. It is clear that political internationalism such as the League of Nations was supposed to inaugurate will never be successful until we have economic internationalism, which would require, as a minimum, an agreement between various national organizations dividing among them the raw materials and markets of the world. This, however, can hardly be brought about while big business is controlled by men who are so rich as to have grown indifferent to money, and to be willing to risk enormous losses for the pleasure of rivalry.

THE increase of organization in the modern world has made the ideals of liberalism wholly inapplicable. Liberalism, from Montesquieu to President Wilson, was based upon the assumption of a number of more or less equal individuals or groups, with no differences so vital that they were willing to die sooner than compromise. It was supposed that there was to be free competition between individuals and between ideas. Experience has shown, however, that the existing economic system is incompatible with all forms of free competition except between states by means of armaments. I should wish, for my part, to preserve free competition between ideas, though not between individuals and groups, but this is only possible by means

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of what an old-fashioned liberal would regard as interferences with personal liberty. So long as the sources of economic power remain in private hands, there will be no liberty except for the few who control those sources.

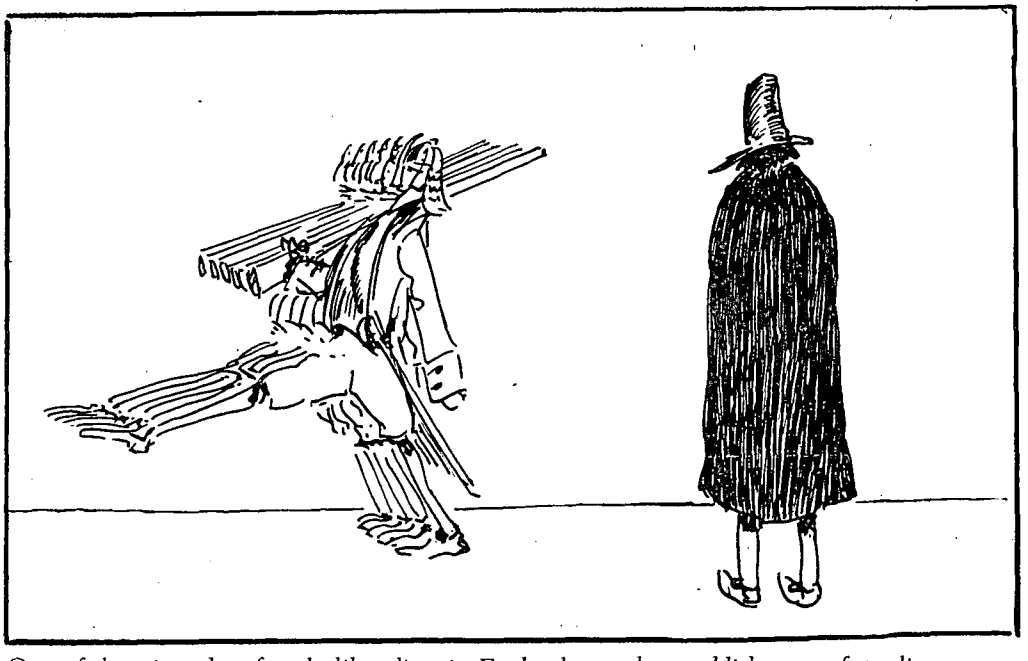
Such liberal ideals as free trade, free press, unbiased education, either already belong to the past or soon will do so. One of the triumphs of early liberalism in England was the establishment of parliamentary control over the army; this was the *casus belli* in the Civil War, and was decided by the Revolution of 1688. It was effective so long as Parliament represented the same class from which army officers were drawn. This may cease to be the case before long. Russia, Hungary, Italy, Spain, and Bavaria have shown in recent years how frail democracy has become; east of the Rhine it lingers only in outlying regions. Constitutional control over armaments must, therefore, be regarded as another liberal principle which is rapidly becoming obsolete.

It would seem probable that, in the next fifty years or so, we shall see a still further increase in the power of governments, and a tendency for governments to be such as are desired by the men who control armaments and raw materials. The forms of democracy may survive in western countries, since those who possess military and economic power can control education and the press, and therefore can usually secure a subservient democracy. Rival economic groups will presumably remain associated with rival nations, and will foster nationalism in order to recruit their football teams.

THERE is, however, a hopeful element in the problem. The planet is of finite size, but the most efficient size for an organization is continually increased by new scientific inventions. The world becomes more and more of an economic unity. Before very long the technical conditions will exist for organizing the whole world as one producing and consuming unit. If, when that time comes, two rival groups contend for mastery, the victor may be able to introduce that single world-wide organization that is needed to prevent the mutual extermination of civilized nations. The world which would result would be, at first, very different from the dreams of either liberals or socialists; but it might grow less different with the lapse of time. There would be at first economic and political tyranny of the victors, a dread of renewed upheavals, and therefore a drastic suppression of liberty. But if the first half-dozen revolts were successfully repressed, the vanquished would give up hope, and accept the subordinate place assigned to them by the victors in the great world-trust. As soon as the holders of power felt secure, they would grow less tyrannical and less energetic. The motive of rivalry being removed, they would not work so hard as they do now, and would soon cease to exact such hard work from their subordinates. Life at first might be unpleasant, but it would at least be possible, which would be enough to recommend the system after a long period of warfare. Given a stable world-organization, economic and political, even if, at first, it rested upon nothing but armed force, the evils which now threaten civilization would gradually diminish, and a more thorough democracy than that which now exists might become possible. I believe that, owing to men's folly, a world-government will only be established by force, and will therefore be at first cruel and despotic. But I believe that it is necessary for the preservation of a scientific civilization, and that, if once realized, it will gradually give rise to the other conditions of a tolerable existence.

IT remains to say something about the future effects of the anthropological sciences. This is of course extremely conjectural, because we do not know what discoveries will be made. The effect is likely to be far greater than we can now imagine, because these sciences are still in their infancy. I will, however, take a few points on which to hang conjectures. I do not wish to be supposed to be making prophecies; I am only suggesting possibilities which it may be instructive to consider.

Birth-control is a matter of great importance, particularly in relation to the possibility of a world-government, which could hardly be stable if some nations increased their population much more rapidly than others. At present birth-control is increasing in all civilized countries, though in most it is opposed by governments. This opposition is due partly to mere superstition or desire to conciliate the Catholic vote, partly to the desire for large armies and severe competition between wage-earners, so as to keep down wages. In spite of the opposition of governments, it seems probable that birth-control will lead to a stationary population in most white nations within the



One of the triumphs of early liberalism in England was the establishment of parliamentary control over the army—decided by the revolution of 1688

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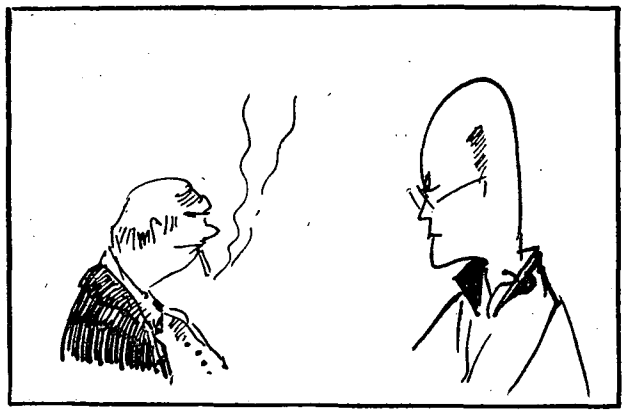

Eugenics has, of course, more ambitious possibilities in a more distant future

next fifty years. There can be no security that it will stop with a stationary population; it may go on to the point where the population diminishes.

This situation will lead to a tendency—already shown by the French—to employ more prolific races as mercenaries. Governments will oppose the teaching of birth-control among Africans, for fear of losing recruits. The result will be an immense numerical inferiority of the white races, leading probably to their extermination in a mutiny of mercenaries. If, however, a world-government is established, it may see the desirability of making subject races also less prolific, and may permit mankind to solve the population question. This is another reason for desiring a world-government.

PASSING from quantity to quality of population, we come to the question of eugenics. We may perhaps assume that, if people grow less superstitious, governments will acquire the right to sterilize those who are not considered desirable as parents. This power will be used, at first, to diminish imbecility, a most desirable object. But probably, in time, opposition to the government will be taken to prove imbecility, so that rebels of all kinds will be sterilized. Epileptics, consumptives, dipsomaniacs and so on will gradually be included; in the end, there will be a tendency to include all who fail to pass the usual school examinations. The result will be to increase the average intelligence; in the long run, it may be greatly increased. But probably the effect upon really exceptional intelligence will be bad. Mr. Micawber, who was Dickens's father, would hardly have been regarded as a desirable parent. How many imbeciles ought to outweigh one Dickens I do not profess to know.

Eugenics has, of course, more ambitious possibilities in a more distant future. It may aim not only at eliminating undesired types, but at increasing desired types. Moral standards may alter so as to make it possible for one man to be the sire of a vast progeny by many different mothers. Prime ministers, bishops, and others whom the state considers desirable may become the fathers of half the next generation. Whether this would be an improvement it is not for me to say, as I have no hope of ever becoming either a bishop or a prime minister.

If we knew enough about heredity to determine, within limits, what sort of population we would have, the matter would of course be in the hands of state officials, presumably elderly medical men. Whether they would really be preferable to Nature I do not feel sure. I suspect that they would breed a subservient population, convenient to rulers but incapable of initiative. However, it may be that I am too sceptical of the wisdom of officials.

THE effects of psychology or practical life may in time become very great. Already advertisers in America employ eminent psychologists to instruct them in the technique of producing irrational belief; such men may, when they have grown more proficient, be very useful in persuading the democracy that governments are wise and good. Then, again, there are the psychological tests of intelligence, as applied to recruits for the American army during the war. I am very sceptical of the possibility of testing anything except average intelligence by such methods, and I think that, if they were widely adopted, they would probably lead to many persons of great artistic capacity being classified as morons. The same thing would have happened to some first-rate mathematics. Specialized ability not infrequently goes with general disability, but this would not be shown by the kind of tests which psychologists recommended to the American government.

More sensational than tests of intelligence is the possibility of controlling the emotional life through the secretions of the ductless glands. It will be possible to make people choleric or timid, strongly or weakly sexed, and so on, as may be desired. Differences of emotional disposition seem to be chiefly due to secretions of the ductless glands, and therefore controllable by injections or by increasing or diminishing the secretions. Assuming an oligarchic organization of society, the state could give to the children of holders of power the disposition required for command, and to the children of the proletariat the disposition required for obedience. Against the injections of the state physicians the most eloquent socialist oratory would be powerless. The only difficulty would be to combine this submissiveness with the necessary ferocity against external enemies; but I do not doubt that official science would be equal to the task.

IT may seem as though I had been at once gloomy and frivolous in some of my prognostications. I will end, however, with the serious lesson which seems to me to result. Men sometimes speak as though the progress of science must necessarily be a boon to mankind, but that, I fear, is one of the comfortable nineteenth-century delusions which our more disillusioned age must discard. Science enables the holders of power to realize their purposes more fully than they could otherwise do. If their purposes are good, this is a gain; if they are evil, it is a loss. In the present age, it seems that the purposes of the holders of power are in the main evil, in the sense that they involve a diminution, in the world at large, of the things men are agreed in thinking good. Therefore, at present, science does harm by increasing the power of rulers. Science is no substitute for virtue; the heart is as necessary for a good life as the head.

If men were rational in their conduct, that is to say, if they acted in the way most likely to bring about the ends that they deliberately desire, intelligence would be enough to make the world almost a paradise. In the main, what is in the long run advantageous to one man is also ad

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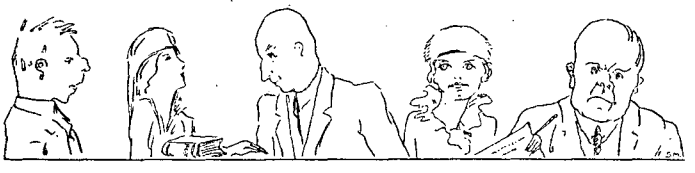
vantageous to another. But men are actuated by passions which distort their view; feeling an impulse to injure others, they persuade themselves that it is to their interest to do so. They will not, therefore, act in the way which is in fact to their own interest unless they are actuated by generous impulses which make them indifferent to their own interest. This is why the heart is as important as the head. By the "heart" I mean, at the moment, the sum-total of kindly impulses. Where they exist, science helps them to be effective; where they are absent, science only makes men more cleverly diabolic. I have no doubt that kindly impulses depend upon the glands. An international secret society of physiologists could bring about the millennium by kidnapping, on a given day, all the rulers of the world, and injecting into their blood some substance which would fill them with benevolence towards their fellow-creatures. Suddenly M. Poincaré would wish well to Ruhr miners, Lord Curzon to Indian nationalists, Mr. Smuts to the natives of what was German South West Africa, the American government to its political prisoners and its victims in Ellis Island. But, alas, the physiologists would just have to administer the love-philtre to themselves before they would undertake such a task. Otherwise, they would prefer to win titles and fortunes by injecting military ferocity into recruits. And so we come back to the old dilemma: only kindliness can save the world, and even if we know how to produce kindliness we should not do so unless we were already kindly. Failing that, it seems that the solution which the Houynhnms adopted towards the Yahoos, namely extermination, is the only one; apparently the Yahoos are bent on applying it to each other.

WE may sum up this discussion in a few words. Science has not given men more self-control, more kindliness, or more power of discounting their passions in deciding upon a course of action. It has given communities more power to indulge their collective passions, but, by making society more organic, it has diminished the part played by private passions. Men's collective passions are mainly bad; far the strongest of them are hatred and rivalry directed towards other groups. Therefore at present all that gives men power to indulge their collective passions is bad. That is why science threatens to cause the destruction of our civilization. The only solid hope seems to lie in the possibility of world-wide domination by one group, say the United States, leading to the gradual formation of an orderly economic and political world-government. But perhaps, in view of the sterility of the Roman Empire, the collapse of our civilization would in the end be preferable to this alternative.



Morons

By FREDERIC ALMY

Decorations by Sara Merrill

"We now discuss," says Chairman A,
"The Z's, whose mental retardation
Retards them! They should have, I say,
Nothing at all but observation."
He turns to pretty Mrs. B
(A lady he is wont to drink with
At teas) "What do *you* think?" says he,
(Though she has nothing she can think with.)

"I have a mind," says Mrs. B
(She has no mind, but does not know it)
"I've a great mind to go and see
This family, for I can show it
That poor it need no longer be.
I read the Survey, and it very
Distinctly says that Poverty
Is mostly quite unnecessary."

(The Z's are somewhat idiotic;
Of dolors they have more than sense.)
Miss C now speaks, a maid quixotic,
A Conference member, rather dense:
"These Z's are morons. Consequently
They must have lessons; since, I guess,
Lessons to morons, evidently,
Will shortly make the morons less."

A wealthy banker, most penurious,
And centimental in his views,
Now speaks: "To me 'tis very curious
That simple folk so seldom use
The simple law of thrift; of learning
Each day to save from what you make.
Not to save half of what you're earning
For rainy days, is a mistake."

At this, up starts young Mr. D:
"These are no Robots, bloodless dummies
Who live on air! Why, Mrs. Z
And all the little Z's have tummies.
This widow, and her little brood
Of children, all of low mentality,
Need patient care, and friends, and food.
Rather than lectures on frugality."

Our A, B, C's are oft B.C.'s,
The X, Y, Z's are sometimes Y-ser;
Though if this truth to Mrs. Z's
Abode should come, it might surprise her.
Which are the morons, Reader, which?
The Conference members, or the others?
The thoughtless poor and thoughtless rich
Under the skin are much like brothers.

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Digging In for the Eight-Hour Day

By ALPHA B. BUSE

BENEATH the headlines about reparations, allied debts, the Ruhr, there is a struggle going on which has received comparatively little attention in the American press. It is that of the workers,—German, French and English,—to salvage the principle and the practice of the eight-hour day in industry. Is the eight-hour day to be thrown overboard in Germany as the German laborer's part in paying for the war? And as a consequence are workers in all other countries to work longer hours in order to compete with German goods in the markets of the world?

It is not an exaggeration to say that the eight-hour day has been the watch cry of organized labor in Western Europe for several generations. The German workers seemingly won their goal in the early days of the revolution that swept in with the armistice and the legislative eight-hour day became an accomplished fact. In the allied countries, the dependence of the nations upon labor during the war and the ideals of democracy expounded by statesmen led the workers to hope that out of it would come new recognition of labor's part in peace as well as in war. These hopes were furthered when in 1919 the International Labor Office of the newly born League of Nations held its first conference in Washington and drafted conventions which would work toward improved industrial conditions. One of the most important was the Convention on the eight-hour day and the forty-eight-hour week.

It is almost five years since the drafting of these Washington Conventions, yet only five countries,—Czechoslovakia, India, Greece, Bulgaria and Roumania,—have ratified. As ratification means not only the passing of laws which fulfill the Convention requirements but a pledge to continue them for a period of ten years, countries of major industrial importance fear to handicap themselves unless all are thus handicapped. Moreover under pressure of reparations and chaotic economic conditions Europe has been moving toward a longer working day. A proposal to extend the week to fifty-four hours has been up for referendum in Switzerland and although defeated illustrates the tendency. Belgium and Holland have been considering amendments to the eight-hour law. Because of the poverty and disorganization of the German unions, the action of the German administration permitting exceptions to the eight-hour day by collective bargaining is even more indicative.

THIS whole situation came up for an unexpectedly thorough discussion in January by the Governing Body of the International Labor Office.* This body, made up of government, employers and workers representatives, set out at this its twenty-first meeting to consider the furtherance of the Eight-hour Convention. The delegates soon found themselves discussing the principle itself, reparations and unemployment. The debate disclosed a division of opinion along economic rather than nationalistic lines.

The employers representative for France (Pinot) got directly to business by declaring, "What was really behind the motion of the Workers' Group was the present position in Germany. In that country . . . the nine-hour day and even the ten-hour day had been re-established through collective agreements between the employers and workers . . . it would appear that Germany was now desirous of fulfilling her obligations with regard to reparations, and it was for the very reason of discharging these obligations that Germany must make provision for the prolongation of the working day. . . . In these circumstances was it possible for the International Labor Office to forbid Germany to undertake that additional work which would enable her to pay her debts?" The Belgian government representative (Mahaim) agreed with M. Pinot. But the Italian government representative (deMichelis) "thought it impossible to agree with the contentions of some speakers according to which moral support would be given to a government which, for reasons of national egoism or even of national duty, might announce its decision to oppose a convention adopted by the organization."

The members of the Workers' Group,—Jouhaux (France), Leipart (Germany), Oudegeest (Netherlands), Poulton (Great Britain),—based their arguments on the beliefs that longer working hours do not necessarily increase production, that such backward steps in working conditions should not be connected with the payment of reparations and would not in any event hasten the solution, and that the German workers, and indirectly workers in all countries, should not bear the brunt of the cost of a war they did not engineer.

OUT of this situation the labor movement in Europe is looking toward British leadership. As government representative and parliamentary secretary of the new Ministry of Labor, a great deal of interest was aroused by the words of Margaret Bondfield. She referred to the possibility of "simultaneous ratification" of the convention by the various governments. Great Britain will probably make an informal offer to ratify if France, Italy, and it is hoped Germany, will indicate their intention to do the same within a certain period. The procedure is much like that of children playing in water who decide to "duck" themselves on the count of three. But as one can't see from under water whether Susie and Johnnie actually go under, they all clasp hands and go in or are dragged in together. As it looks at present the immediate future of the eight-hour day in Europe depends on whether the British Labor Government hangs on long enough to accomplish this "ducking." It may be recalled that Tom Shaw, the present minister of labor, was chairman of the eight-hour commission at Washington. That in itself, Miss Bondfield felt, constituted a guarantee that the present British Government would leave no effort untried to secure the ratification of the convention

* The Conventions of the International Labour Organization. Extract from the minutes of the Twenty-first Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

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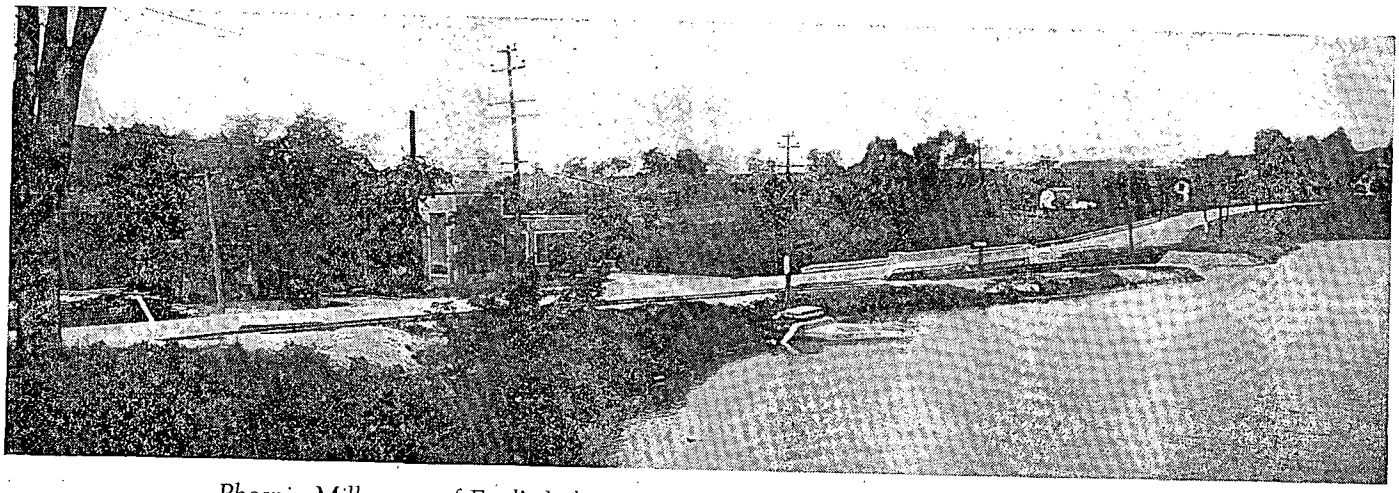

Phoenix Mills—one of Ford's little water powers where the Rouge crosses the open road

The Play of a Big Man with a Little River

An Interview after a Fashion with

HENRY FORD

By PAUL U. KELLOGG

Up Stream on the Rouge

FORD'S critics have chanted, "Great is his Slave Gang and Monotony is his Profit." They point to the tense assembly lines and mass production in his stupendous plant at Highland Park. How he has gathered up nine dams on the stream he swam in as a boy was told in the Giant Power number of Survey Graphic. Is he merely carrying factory regimentation into the country? Or is he stealing a march on his critics unawares—perhaps even to himself—shifting work back into the open where there is elbow room for a man to live in an all-round way out of hours? That question is for the future. Here is a first appraisal of how far he has gone with power farming and small water powers on one small Michigan watershed, how far in turning factory workers and field workers into interchangeable parts in a new village economy competing with the big city and the congregate plant.

TAKE Ford's first team play in which machinery, power, farm labor and a crop all figure. It came as a member of a threshing crew. This was after his apprenticeship and seems to have pretty largely escaped his biographers. The road engine was used to run the threshing machine and also to pull it and other paraphernalia from farm to farm. Later, he worked as an expert in setting up and repairing such portable engines. What bothered him, he remembers, was their weight and cost; but his experiences set his mind in ferment as to the possibility of a light and cheap tractor which would haul heavy farm loads better than a team.

There was rivalry on the threshing crew between the engineer and the men who fed the grain to see which could outstrip the other. Young Ford was engineer and if his safety-valve blew off steam he had it over on the hands. Perhaps in this game of the harvest fields, we have an inkling of why it was, years afterward, Ford took over the overhead trolley of the stockyards, turned it other end to, and applied it for the first time in a large way to manufacture with everything moving and with the mechanical drive and the team play at every man's elbow setting the pace. Instead of a pig going in at one end and coming out hams and sausage links at the other, castings, nuts, bolts, wires, tubes and other parts to the number of 7,000 are conveyed to the men in the assembly lines and are attached by them to the moving products which roll up into motor, chassis, body, and ultimately into a completed car that runs off on its own gas into John R. Street, Detroit.

The threshing crew brought power and machinery to the individual farm and did in a few hours what an earlier generation had taken days to perform with flails and back muscles on the threshing floor. A forecast of the tractor gangs that put through the annual stint of heavy work on Ford's 9,000 acre farm at Dearborn in less than a month's time.

The thresher, unlike the flour miller who was tied to heavy grinding stones and stationary water wheel, carried his power plant and machinery to the farms where the raw materials and the labor was located, and so saved the cartage of the bulky grain on the stalk.

Another forecast of Ford's determination in his middle age to try carrying city work to the country worker, and so reverse the process that has piled up towns since the days of the industrial revolution.

"WE are all here for experience," said Ford to me. "Nothing will ever be thoroughly settled in this world." "The only permanent thing," he went on in the

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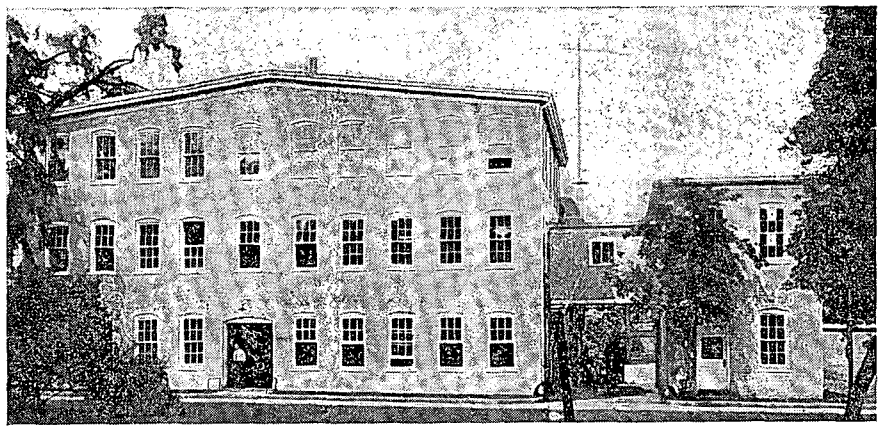
same vein, "is just *change*." The Rouge Valley offers a record of Henry Ford as its agent. I have told in an earlier article of his great basic plant downstream—shipping terminal, storage yard, power house, by-product plant, blast furnace and foundry, all interlocked, integrating power and raw materials for his great congregate factories where more than 100,000 wage earners manufacture and assemble motor cars and tractors—the last word today in centralizing production in the newest of our great industries. Tomorrow, if Ford carries out his stated intention, they will serve a constellation of rural factories among which he proposes to scatter his manufacture of "parts"—decentralizing production on a scale hitherto unknown. He is making his beginning upstream on the Rouge, but first we must stop and get our bearings midway at his home farm at Dearborn, where he demonstrated his farm tractor.



The converted planing mill at Northville which successfully competes for Ford's time with his stupendous plant down stream

CRUSTS of mental habit offered quite as much resistance to its tryout as turf and rocky soil. We are told that Ford's city neighbors in Detroit in the 90's were riled at the put-put of his motor at all hours of the night and threatened him with the law. They were no more indifferent to progress than his country neighbors at Dearborn in the 1910's who didn't see the point of his messing up their fields. So he bought 6,000 acres to plow as deep and as many times as he liked.

Like the farmer in the folk song, he looked him East and he looked him West, and had his way with his big farm once the acres were his. Here in America he asserts "we shall have as great a development in farming during the next twenty years as we have had in manufacturing during the last twenty." (Ford: Crowther). "Is it any wonder that doing everything slowly and by hand, the average farmer has not been able to earn more than a bare living while farm products are never as plentiful or as cheap as they ought to be." And again "Within a few years a farm depending on horse and hand power will be as much of a curiosity as a factory run by a treadmill." Ford's farm is not that sort of a curiosity. He tore down the fences, cleared out the farm animals and applied his "clean-up" ideas to weedy fields just as he did to the Lincoln motor plant when he took it over from the receivers, and began operations with one hundred scrubbing men. I was not competent to investigate the results of his farming operations and can only quote his spokesmen. His tractor, they say, does in a day six times the work of a team of horses; and he found that he could keep up fertility without cows by summer fallowing. He became a barnyard iconoclast, an evangelist of artificial fertilizer and nitrate plants. According to Benson, he increased the yield of wheat per acre by plowing ten inches deep instead of eight; his crews from the Ford plant have harvested 3,000 acres in four days; have plowed 2,500 acres in five and a half days; and altogether "the farm absorbs twenty-one days a year."

Ford points to British wartime experience as a demonstration of his theory on a national scale. Under pressure of the crisis, his tractor was put into production about a year before he had intended. Five thousand were shipped overseas in 1917-18, while the submarines were busiest. He cites British government reports as to their service in countering the attempted German blockade. With shipping already inadequate to carry over American troops, munitions and supplies, as well as food enough for the home population, a freighter was being torpedoed almost every day. England had not enough draft animals to "plough and cultivate land to raise crops in sufficient volume to make even a dent in the food imports." Hitherto, power farming had scarcely been known there; and, to quote Ford, it was "these tractors, run mostly by women, that plowed up the old estates and golf courses, and let all England be planted and cultivated without taking away the fighting man power or crippling the forces in the munition plants."

"THE most inefficient thing in the world," Ford said to me, "is the farmer living on the farm. There's no reason a farmer couldn't work eighty acres and spend practically all his time in a factory." He continued:

The farmer is a slave to a few cattle. If they'd even centralize the cattle in a large barn two or three hundred head, every man could work eight hours a day in a factory during the winter months, and still work his farm. The first thing is to teach them how.

Backbreaking work must go from the farm as it has from the factory. Very little ditchdigging is done by hand today in our industrial districts. You can not get people to do it Ditch diggers demand more wages than mechanics. That sort of labor is foolish. I learned to swim in a little creek around here which I used to pass by every day or two. I often wondered how it ran through the city. Within the last month they have been putting through a sewer twelve feet in diameter to carry the flow. The old ditch and the old ditch digging are gone. They cut across a mile in two weeks all by machinery

The farm work of the future will be run on a large scale There will be three to four hundred acres to a field, and they will put seventy-five tractors in such a field at once, and have them plowed and sowed by night. We had seventy-two tractors at work on a big field on the farm—the most we ever had at once. A group of farmers looked over at them, from the road, on their way to Detroit. They said they must stop and see it when they came back. When they came back that way, the field was finished and the tractors were three miles off.

Because a farmer gets up at 5 A. M. he thinks he works, but long hours never mean work anyway. I knew a farmer who used to boast the sun never caught him in his bed. He was never out of debt. If he had only stayed in bed and got thoroughly rested once he could have done something. He got up instead and growled around. He died at the age of sixty from

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over-eating. I never got out of bed unless I wanted to. It is not the motions you make nor the hours you put in that spell work, but what you accomplish.

When Ford launches his city man's shafts at long hours on the farm he does so with experience behind him in cutting down factory time. At my suggestion he branched off by way of analogy and told how he had upset the twelve-hour day in two of its entrenched strongholds—public service and iron and steel making.

When I was chief engineer for the Edison Company in Detroit [he said], we instituted the eight-hour day there at my suggestion. That was the spring of '92—thirty years ago. And so far as I know that was the first time the eight-hour idea was talked up in an electric light plant. I told the president I could do it cheaper on a three-shift system. He didn't see how it could be done without costing more. Tried and proved it. It was just a matter of figuring up. You had to keep the plant going twenty-four hours. Why not cut the time in three instead of two. They had had to have substitute men around anyway and it didn't add to the force.

At the power plant at Highland Park we broke an electrician of the habit of working his men long shifts. He had to pay the overtime out of his own pocket. He only did it twice.

Of course on experimental work it's different. Then we stay on the job until it's through. There's no overtime but a man can take a week off if necessary afterward to get rested up to make up for it.

Our railroad is a six-day railroad, with no Sunday labor.

In our blast furnaces and open hearths we have had the three-shift system from the start and one day of rest in seven. When we started the first blast furnace at the River Rouge we had some men from the steel district who had always done it the twelve-hour way. They put up an argument. We sat down with them and tried to talk it out. Might as well have talked to the rolling mill itself.

In hanging on to the twelve-hour system so long the big steel people have just stood in their own light.

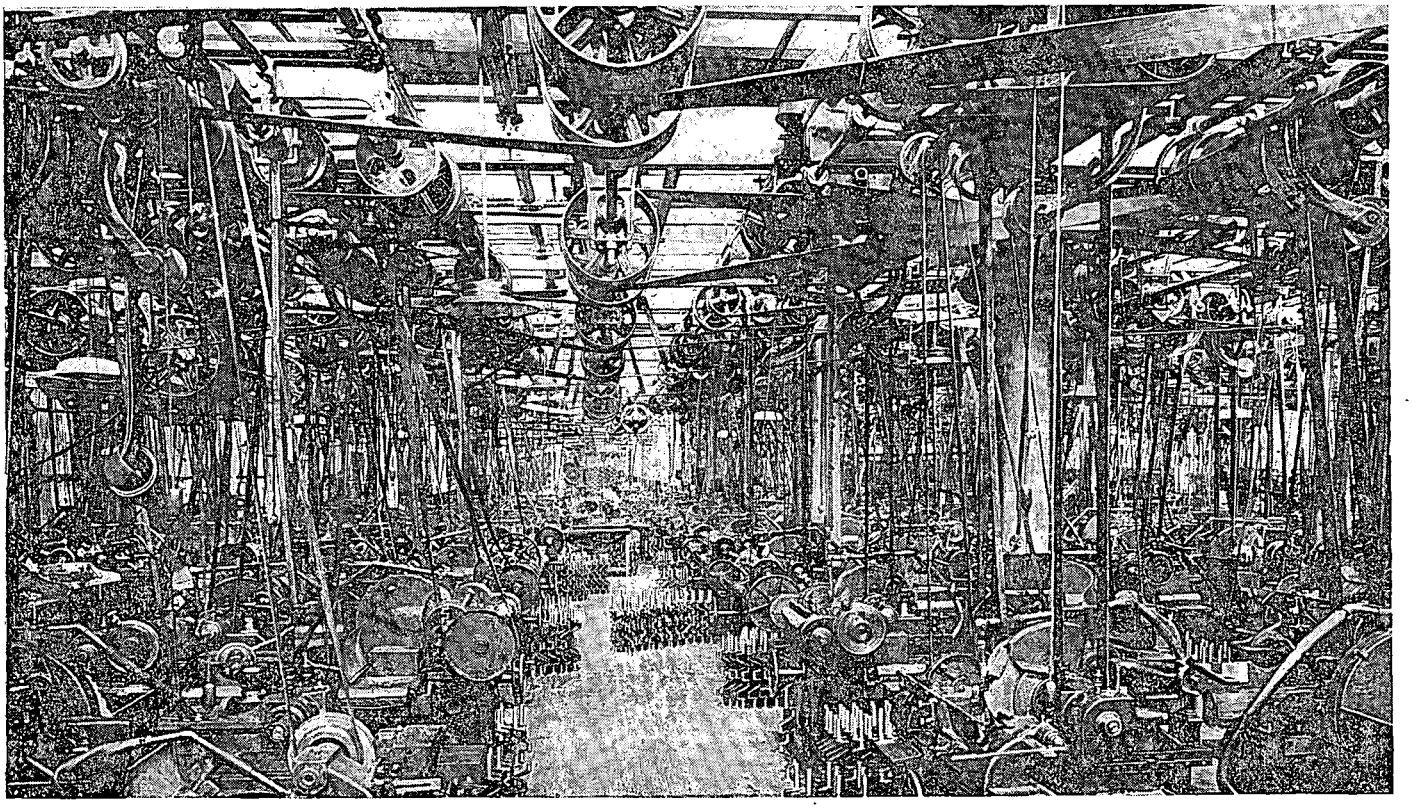
And Ford believes that manufacturers, no less than farmers, will stand in their own light if they balk at adjusting themselves to a new working year during which men will shift from the factory to the field. "They will let the men off in August," he said, "if they know their own job. The only man who does not succeed is the man who wants to grab everything there is."

His philosophy of the interplay between city and country reaches further however than a matter of the clock and the calendar:

The big cities are taking farm boys and teaching them how to work the city way. At Northville that's one of the first things we have on our hands. They don't stick to anything. The hardest thing to do is to keep them from floating around the factory. There's the big overgrown ruddy-faced boy that needs to go to the city—to get waked up. And there's the farm boy who thinks that heaven is in the big city—and all he wants to do is to get to it. He needs that experience. He needs to get in there; needs the real round of hardships that he'll find there to temper him, for there are still hardships to be met with in the city.

But the current also sets the other way. The country is taking pale city boys out of the factories and showing them what mud is. We've had boys out on our harvest crews at Dearborn who didn't know what a cow was. But city chaps make good farmers. They have a good keen head on them and can be counted on in this new outdoors development. The big cities have done their work. The change is coming.

AN American village, with the country round about, is a different proposition from a man's own farm or his factory, or from a nation under the controls of war. It has a way of its own. Northville, up the Rouge, is such a community. It is a one-street town with an ancient bandstand on stilts at the central corner. Under that, a "stop-



Crank shaft department of the Highland Park plant of the Ford Motor Co. Since the day of the industrial revolution steam transmission has been tethered by a leather belt, as Mr. Wells pointed out in the Giant Power number of Survey Graphic. Electric transmission will clear out the web of beltings in such a work room as this. Ford would go further and break up the factory itself into smaller units and carry the units to the country

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go" signal symbolizes the changes breaking over it. The signs on Main Street bear witness to the old settled population—John McCulley, shoes; Elliot's bakery; Fred W. Dyke, hardware; C. F. Smith, groceries; C. R. Herter, drugs. The Northville State Savings Bank and Court Northville No. 63, F. and A. M., are of the old order. But the gabled Ambler house, of wood, has its bar turned into a lunch counter; the Alseium theater has become a movie house; and Spagnuolo and Martino, confectioners, mark the coming of the new immigration. The street is asphalted; there are electric lights at night; the red brick fire house with its tower and bell, bears the warning "no parking here." Old residences of mansard brick are neighbors to one-story fronts of the new construction, harboring Ford or Dodge "sales and service." There is a poster in front of the Presbyterian church with its ancient pillars. This is placard No. 305, of the Way Side Pulpit, Boston, and bears the legend:

> "A Tragic Epitaph: 'He believed in progress
> but he did not make any.' "

But even that falls short in significance of a squat stone smithy set back from the street; its forge littered with junk that knew not Abraham; now a garage and auto repair shop. Thus far Northville is a duplicate of a thousand American towns which indirectly have felt "Ford's touch" and that of others of his generation. Down street, under a veteran elm, patched up with tree surgery, is an old planing mill which encountered the shock of his direct action and passed it on to the community. It is the work place of 380 men who turn rods into tiny valves for the Ford Motor Company; a radio phone connects it with Ford's Highland Park factory with its 69,000 employes, his Rouge works with 36,000 men on the payroll. More particularly for three years past this little converted planing mill has competed successfully with these other plants for the person of Henry Ford. When at home he is out there three and four times a week. Occasionally he straddled a desk in the office to exchange a few words (such as, "We bought a railroad this morning") but that was before the office moved up-stairs to make way for a stock room for the rods. Ford hasn't much use for offices anyway. Now when he comes out he goes straight into the factory, spending the time with the men on the floor, or looking over the mill site where he plans to build. The day he was sixty years old he was out there twice. Many stories are told of his visits, of his questions to workmen as to how they like the work or the country as the case may be, whichever is the new thing to them. It is always "we" and "our" with him.

There was a spell of hard times when the Ford Motor Company took over the plant, and the story is told locally that on one visit Ford came upon some men who couldn't get a job. He set them to work pulling rusty nails out of boards that had been ripped out of the old mill. He wanted a keg full, he said, and paid them twenty-five cents an hour. Later I heard he sent out for a bushel of apple seed and that gave six men a week's job on the waste pile of the neighboring cider mill. Whatever way be Ford's remoteness and his Jehovah complex in shaking down his big works organizations by proxy they have his sunny side here at Northville, and his personal touch. You get a sense of the generous impulses of the man, of the unconventional quirks of his imagination and understand why they all swear by him although his taciturnity stands in the way of his sharing with the men on the job, as he goes along, the plans he is turning over in the back of his head.

THE provision of a great amount of cheap convenient power—not all at once, but as it may be used—will, according to Ford, do more than anything else "to bring about the balancing of life and the cutting of the waste which breeds poverty." [Ford: Crowther.]

It may be that generating electricity by a steam plant at the mine mouth will be the most economical for one community. Hydro-electric power may be best for another community. But certainly in every community there ought to be a central station to furnish cheap power—it ought to be held as essential as a railway or water supply. And we could have any great source of power harnessed and working for the common good were it not that the expense of obtaining capital stands in the way. I think we shall have to revise some of our notions about capital. . . .

Ford is busy revising them on the Rouge: his scheme of investment there is an application in the open country of his ideas of business accounting. When out of his surplus he erects a blast furnace or a new building in his big plant downstream he holds that his customers have already paid him for them once and thereafter does not figure interest on the capital put into such construction as an element in his future costs or prices. I was unable to learn what the total is that he has put into his land, his dams, his power plants and his little factories up stream on the River Rouge; but it was assumed as a matter of course by the people I talked with that the millions he has already laid out exceed anything on which he is likely to get a conventional return in anything like the immediate future. Nor apparently does the question of such a return in the remote future engross his calculations; these dams have already been paid for by the buyers of last year's cars and tractors; the question is, will the new village equipment, as a going concern, produce parts cheaper than similar departments could produce them at his Highland Park plant which in the same way was paid for by pre-war motorists. You could capitalize the water works of all Michigan—clouds, lakes, woods and sun, as Jupiter Pluvius, Inc., and charge blue sky interest on its reproduction value that would put the state out of business. Then why, if you are modernizing a patch of outdoors, so that a rusty watershed, like a decrepit D & I engine, is again a creative force and a half deserted valley becomes a producing community—why cumber it all up with a lot of silly banker's notions? I am not quoting Ford, but giving his general approach as I understand it. The restlessness of some of his higher executives is thus explained and the bearing this phase of his experiment has on its acceptance by private enterprise generally is self-evident. But Ford has a way with him like Job and his lost possessions; they come back manifold. For example, his habit of cutting the price of his car below its current costs, banking on bigger sales and quantity production to drop the costs below the new price. The point is not to pass premature judgment on the fiscal outcome of the Rouge experiment; but to thank our stars that a man with this sort of a far sighted blind spot is making an experiment—big with human possibilities—which, if it were left to conventional investment, would never be made. I was told that the power plant at Phoenix, where 150 women and girls are employed making generator cut-outs cost about $250,000, which if figured at 5% would mean an interest charge of $12,500 a year. Ford could buy the necessary power from his old

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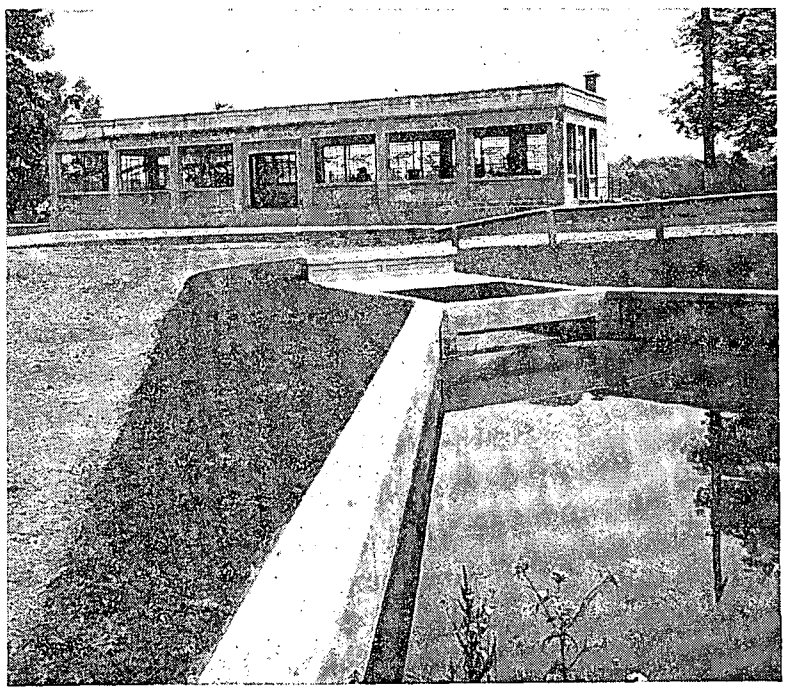
employers, the Edison Company of Detroit, for $500 a month or $6,000 a year. As a dollar and cents proposition, his water power plant wouldn't justify itself; but to figure that way, to Ford's mind, is a foolish proposition. It runs counter to his notions of capital (which ignore that interest charge altogether); blinks the fact that land and building cost less in the country; ignores the advantages of rural labor; and makes a bad choice between harnessing flowing water once for all and burning out the country's coal bin.

At Northville, the question of water power investment does not enter in as the discovery of quicksand has thus far held up the construction of a good-sized reservoir and a modern factory building. The automatic machines which make the valves are run by the same boilers that drove the lathes and saws in the days when the old planing mill along with a scales factory, a foundry and a furniture company represented the manufacturing activities of the village. The last named is said to have been at one time the largest church furniture manufactury in the world and had four hundred men employed; today it has less than fifty.



A small modern plant, with the look of a power station, has taken the place of the Wilcox mill at Plymouth

WHAT Ford's coming meant first of all was the injection of a $6 a day pay-roll into the static village economy, and the local business interests viewed this with no more enthusiasm than Detroit employers manifested when he began monkeying with wages. Thirty-five experienced men were brought out from Highland Park in 1920 as a nucleus; machine operators; all production men. They lived mostly in Detroit, and commuted back and forth; some of them eventually settled at Northville. For the rest the valve plant drew first of all on Highland Park, Dearborn and the Rouge works for Northville men who were commuting the other way round; leaving home at five-thirty in the morning and not getting back till late because of the bad transit facilities. A similar opportunity was given Ford employes living in Plymouth, Farmington and other surrounding towns. Today the greater part of the force lives in these towns and the surrounding country, the remainder live in Northville. There is usually a waiting list. The management has had a large number of inquiries from people in Detroit who wanted to come to a small town for health reasons or to bring up their children in the country. But this is not encouraged on the ground that the plant was put there to serve the people of the vicinity—decentralization, evidently, must wait; and at Northville, Phoenix and Plymouth all applicants must have established a six months residence before they can qualify.

At the time the plant was opened, there was much unemployment. Ford laid down the rule not to take any one who had a job. It is always his idea, I was told, to hire men without a job first, but there was another reason. The local companies had paid low wages and high dividends time out of mind. They were owned by local stockholders. Ford's coming provoked a lot of friction in anticipation that he would draw away their men. Local stockholders couldn't look with equanimity on cutting the 15 per cent to 20 per cent dividends they were accustomed to on their capital stock. But when they found he wasn't taking the men away, when the local merchants began to have trade such as they had never dreamed of, when property began to rise in value, the Ford Company "got solid" with the community.

Yet the coming of the Ford plant tended inevitably to raise wages. Ford's ways were not the old ways. The other plants paid for their low wages, just as the steel corporations have paid for the twelve-hour day by a compensatory slackness. Things had been free and easy, a man could sit down and read a newspaper, take his time in eating his lunch; quit and go to a ball game.

FORD brought his production system as well as his pay-roll to Northville. Any man can stop the line at Highland Park, and hold up the whole crew. But because this is so, the group pressure on all the men is to keep going. This was the second point of impact. His production system has been described many times but here it afforded an upsetting contrast not only to the small town factory ways but even more sharply to the round of work on the nearby farms.

Motor trucks roll in from the Rouge works with the raw material that goes into the valves—steel rods. These are cut into lengths and the flow of production begins—routed through machines set cheek by jowl along the old planing mill floor. They roll a thread on the end of each length, slip it into a cast iron disk, heat it until it is cherry red in an electric furnace, weld it, ring it to see if the welding is right, buff and cut it off, grind the end, punch a hole through it, file off the burr, test it as to length, test it as to width, test it as to holes, and the valve is done. If one valve goes through which is too large or unpunched or crooked, it may throw the whole motor off the line in the assembly room in the big plant at Highland Park.

Instead of each man putting the little valve through all these simple processes, there is a man at every minute step

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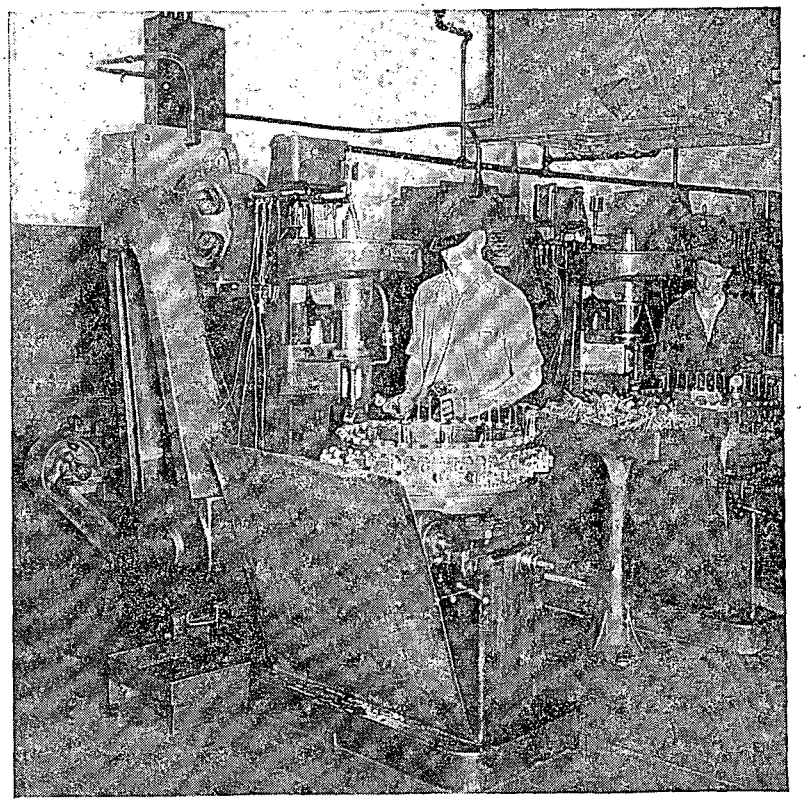
of the way. And every man, with exception of the filer, uses an automatic machine and just a fraction of himself, as small as the fraction of the completed valve that is his responsibility. One man uses the muscles of his forearm to lift and feed the rod. One man uses his fingers in slipping disks under a punch. One man uses his ears to see if the welding rings true. One man uses his sense of touch on a measuring machine. One man uses his eye to inspect the holes. Eight hours a day—$6 a day. Stark contrast to the round of milking cows, grubbing a garden, following the plow, bedding the stock, wielding spade and fork and wheelbarrow. The monotony of it does not bother Ford (but that would get us into the old argument of men and machines and the human costs of the division of labor). What does bother him is any survival of back-breaking muscular work that can be shoved over on to power. The one physically hard job left on the floor of the Northville plant at the time of my visit was the filing operation. The man had to push down a lever with his foot—and file off the edge of a bored hole. Not in the class of pitching hay, but Ford bothered about it; told them to work out an automatic machine that would cut out the heavy work. On a later visit, he asked why this had not been done. He was put out about it and told them not to allow that man to work any more at that job. He wanted him called off then and there. From what one Ford man said, I gathered, that if this husky had stopped his filing for any length of time, he would have stopped the production of valves at Northville, would have stopped the production of motors, would have stopped the line at Highland Park, would have stopped the production of Fords, would have thrown the whole Ford business with its 100,000 men out of gear. This was denied by another Ford man, as a cheerful bit of myth-making like the old woman whose pig wouldn't go over the style. But however that may be, they persuade Ford to let the fellow go on filing a few days more unde promise that they would rush the development of the auto matic machine that was to save his leg and his shoulde muscles.



Ford has carried his production system to his rural plant. A machine tender on the floor of Northville

WHEN the Ford Motor Company shipped the depart ment, out to Northville, in 1920, each valve wa costing them about 9½ cents; it costs them today, I wa informed, less than 4 cents. The work is done practically b the same machinery. Wages are somewhat less (the differ ence between $7 and $6), materials are down; but th difference according to the superintendent at Northville, i due to the labor factor as measured in what they call th minute cost. In August, 1920, two and a half minute actual working time was required per valve, a figure arrive at by multiplying the hours in a day (counting up th time put in by all hands), by 60 in order to bring it t minutes and dividing by the number of valves. At th start, it had run higher than that—around 3.5. Last fall the minute cost was 1.26 minutes.

This shows [says the superintendent] what can be done with out water power, by removing a plant to the country. Th economy is due in large part to cutting down the labor turn over. At a big plant in a big city, like Highland Park, a certai per cent of the work is done by transients. They aren't satis fied to work in such large operations, shut in by brick wall five or six stories high. They are single men, many of them who don't own their own homes and won't work long at an job. It costs a lot of money to break men in. Here a larg proportion of the men are home owners and have dependent Some of them have worked consecutively since the plant wa opened. They can walk to work and walk home in a fe minutes, many of them, as against spending from half an hou to an hour in a street car. Half of the men who came ou from Detroit at the start stuck. They were the ones wh brought their families with them. The places of the other hal were more than filled by local men who had gone t the city and drifted back.

Of the three to four hundred men all told on th Northville payroll, fifty live in the village of Nortl ville, fifty in the surrounding country, the balanc in the neighboring towns. Such an establishmer would have been impossible before the day of th cheap motor car. When the plant opened the were only a few machines in town. "Now every body and his brother has one." When the men a on night shift, they can't come and go by trolle so they double up in their cars that come in fro various directions, some of them a distance of twel or fifteen miles.

A lot of them are young farmers, of the sort th Ford looks to see employed in the fields in the sun mer, in the factory in the winter. But to date isn't working out that way. As a matter of fa the busy time of the plant is in the spring and fal it doesn't need extra hands during the winte Some of the farmers, turned wage-earners, ha moved into town. They complain they could scar ly pay their taxes by farming. Others are living their farms but rent out the land to neighbors wh they work all the year round in the shop. They g discouraged and say "We'll quit farming and g work with Heny Ford,"—a whimsical contradict to his prophecy of what the village factory shou do to salvage agriculture. One man with a $20,0

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farm is working at $6 a day and claims he is netting more than on his farm for years past. None of the men who still live on the land are doing heavy farming. They say they can't do it and work eight hours a day making valves the Ford way. (Of course they never farmed the Ford way.) Nor does the management believe they can do justice to both jobs.

There are exceptions, however, which give aid and comfort to Ford's theory. These are not engaged in old-fashioned farming but in market gardening. One of the Ford men wished that he could tell me that there were one hundred of them "for Mr. Ford wants it that way"; but there are only ten or twelve at most. They come on the pay roll the middle of October or the first of November and work through till April. During the summer, college men on vacation are picked up to fill their places and they are reinstated in the fall. One man grows musk melons, tomatoes and cucumbers. Another has a young orchard as well as a garden. Northville has its own county fair and the Ford employes have come off with some ribbons. The prize for grapes this fall went to a Hungarian who lives on an eighty-acre farm five miles out from Northfield. His two young sons work in the valve factory; their two sisters are in school. The boys start from home at 7 a. m. and get back at 4:30 p. m. One of them told me that they sell milk, as well as apples, grapes, and potatoes grown on the farm. "Pa milks; we do the rest of the work," he said. It will be interesting to see whether these boys will become farmers or "production men" as time goes on; or whether they will evolve into farm-factory-workers, the new cross which Ford would lay alongside the hydroplane and Mr. Burbank's mixed fruits.

BUT if as yet valve-making has made only a trifling crevice in throwing open farming to the wage earner, how about it as a vocational opportunity for a farm boy? What chance would it have offered Henry Ford, had he been born fifty years later, and set off to Northville instead of Detroit to learn to be a mechanic? A slim chance compared with what a lad could pick up in the eighties at Flower Bros.' Machine Shop, McGill's jewelry and the Dry Dock Engine Company, the places where Ford himself learned his trade in Detroit. Ford has talked of setting up some sort of training scheme at Northville but it has not materialized as yet and the run of boys who come are afforded as little in the way of education in mechanics as they are in the new farming. There are only three all-round machinists jobs on the place and they are in the tool room up-stairs. Their assistants are getting training—not as finished tool makers, but as good repair men. An exception is a young fellow who had a free course in mechanical drawing in the army school overseas. His job is center grinding. He is through by 2 p. m. and the rest of the time he puts in getting experience.

Even in a rural factory, young Americans won't stick at machine tending indefinitely, and a considerable share of the jobs go to foreigners. But while Ford at sixteen was earning $2.50 a week, the boys on the automatic machines can save enough in a couple of years at $6 a day to pay for their education elsewhere. They tell of a young fellow who blew in from Fort Wayne, lived in a tent and cooked his own meals. He worked for a year and a half and now is going through the state normal school at Ypsilanti.

The leisure time in the open afforded by the village factory presents a more convincing picture. For one thing there's squirrel hunting. And there was a deal of figuring early last fall as to which crew would be on the day shift when the season opened. In the city it takes half a day to get out where you can begin to hunt squirrels.

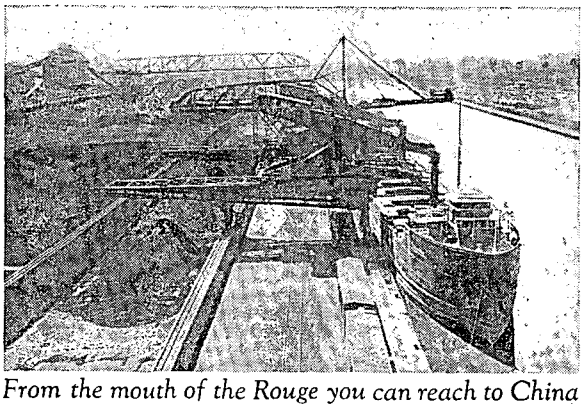
The case for home life and back-yard gardens is even stronger. This is appreciated by the force from the superintendent down. Consider Casey, the shop foreman, and his reason for preferring Northville to Detroit. "Fresh air is one thing," he said. "Another is, the school is handy. The children have sleds in the winter, swimming in the summer." He added: "In a small village people go more to church." Casey owned his own house in Detroit, but it took twenty minutes in a street car to get there. Here he lives across the way, gets up at 7 A. M. and is at work by 7:30. He brought his wife and two children and they have bought a lot. "I don't believe you could drag my wife back to Detroit," he said. "You have more freedom; your family isn't cooped up. Give me Northville any time to live in."

Casey's father was a farmer on the outskirts of Aberdeen, and his rural background may enter in. His sentiments were shared by a production man—a Russian Pole with a wife and three children who had worked seven or eight years at Highland Park and who had had to live on the outskirts of Detroit. He has a Hupmobile and it takes him just five minutes to get where there's good fishing.

SUCH testimony might be multiplied—from farmers and town dwellers, city men and immigrants. They like the high wages, the steady jobs, the normal living. But when you come to tot up the results to date, the way the Ford men figure their minute costs, against Ford's own statement of his scheme, when you compare these results with the showing as to coal and iron ore and castings at the big Rouge plant, the showing is altogether meager. They do not give you a sense of Ford's imaginative social policies applied constructively as an engineering job to the loose fabric of an antiquated rural economy. Even in his own little plant, he has not as yet struck his equilibrium between farm work and factory work for the people of the vicinity; has not as yet thrown open something winning for the generation coming on which means growth and craftsmanship.

He may be outflanking the critics of his gang system, not by lessening its monotony, but by throwing open the freedom of rich country living between shifts; but it is yet to be demonstrated that the net outcome will not be the other way round—drawing the last remaining group of self-dependent, self-mastering

(*Continued on page* 52)



From the mouth of the Rouge you can reach to China

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Manufacturers of Consent

Second of three character sketches of the League of Nations

By FRANCIS HACKETT

THE League of Nations isn't an "it" which "sits" the way Congress sits when *it* is in session. That is the big eye-opener you get in Geneva. It isn't a legislature with two chambers. It is a strange organism not yet completely understood.

When the council comes together five times a year or more—it has already held twenty-five sessions—it certainly holds meetings, but they are often private meetings of its handful of members, and they hold these meetings in the casual room that used to be the hotel reception room.

Even when these meetings are public, they are not so astonishingly public. The room itself is delightful—five big arched windows run the length of one side, and you can see Lake Geneva across the lawn. But you cannot hear a great deal. The council sits round a table at the far end of the room, on the same level as their auditors, and they speak sitting down, not always so that they can be understood. Nothing could be less sensational, as a whole, than this council room of the fifty-two nations.

When the assembly convenes once a year, its members cannot crowd into the National hotel. They go across the water to an old church, and there they go into session, sometimes in the presence of the public and sometimes in its absence. In the near future, it is planned, the assembly is to have its own building, in the grounds near the present building.

But that is some years ahead.

These meetings are not the "league." They are a vital part of its international procedure, and the heart of the league is in them, but one must include a much bigger structure before accounting for this organism so reluctantly created by the Treaty of Versailles.

One American has given a very good definition of the league's purpose. Manley O. Hudson, originally from Missouri and still from Missouri even if he endorses the league, has called it a *machinery for the manufacture of consent.* In his own person, with his clear-cut face, his incisive mind, his kindliness, his verve, Mr. Hudson is the sort of American who himself is a machinery for the manufacture of consent. But his phrase is the phrase of a pragmatist professor in the Harvard Law School. During his work in Paris with the American Peace Commission in 1919, Mr. Hudson gained insight into the real operation of international politics, especially power politics. He navigated in the currents that twisted Wilson's peace policy from a wedding-barge into a raft built out of the wreckage. Those powerful and treacherous currents have made him look with sympathy to the utilitarian canal process of the league.

What he sees in the league is not a body of political dogma, not a super-state, not an institution which lays down the ideal law. He sees it as a mechanism for performing in a new way the work that was so badly done in the old way. Before, there was the diplomat, the so-called "foreign" office, and occasional special conferences of treaty bodies. Now, for the accomplishment of international business, there is this clearing in the political jungle, with a "non-foreign" office and an attempt to create an international personnel. The difference is one of machinery, and the object of the new machinery is to manufacture consent.

BUT consent, it must be remarked, is not the only article that the league manufactures. The old-fashioned diplomat and the old-fashioned "foreign" office did not grow with their roots in the air. They rooted in the rich soil of special national interests. Those interests have not ceased to exist, and they are constantly at work to subordinate the League of Nations; just as, in the national sphere, they seek to make over for themselves such new machinery as the direct primary, the initiative, the referendum. The League of Nations is therefore no automatic life-saver. It is a machinery for the manufacture of consent; it is also a machinery for the manufacture of compromise, compromise being the inferior substitute of consent. With its real and sincere internationalism there is combined the play of power politics; the ways of selfish interest mingle with the ways of mutual interest.

The League of Nations is a product of nationalisms, and its origin should never be forgotten.

Of this international machinery and machination, what does the inquiring

"When Does the League Sit?"

The visiting American has looked around the big building of the League of Nations at Geneva. He has seen the large St. Bernard asleep in the hall. He has noticed the ironic word "National" on the doormat. He has observed the two concierges, one speaking English and one speaking French, busy at the counter facing the door. He has seen the bright stenographers and the lithe secretaries scurrying up and down the hotel stairs—for the building used to be the great National hotel. He has walked the long corridor that leads to the library, and he has guiltily peered into the library itself. Well, that's all very interesting, but it isn't what he came to look at. He came to look at the league. He and his wife gave up their trip to Chamonix to have a look at the league. So, just as he would say to his Congressman at the Capitol, he says to his guide in Geneva, "When does it sit?" Mr. Hackett gives the answer.

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visitor see at Geneva? There is the building of course, for which the league gave somebody one million dollars; there is further a building occupied by the allied International Labor Office; and the fine plot of ground which has just been presented to the league by the city of Geneva, on which is to be erected the assembly hall. That much, in effect, everyone sees.

But the business that goes on in the Hotel International, is the thing that concerns the intelligent American visitor. What he finds, in the long and frequent intervals when the council is not there and the league is not there, is the permanent body of the league. This is officially known by the rather obsequious and unfortunate name of "the secretariat." It ought to be known as the International Civil Service. This secretariat, so called, is the chief thing to inspect at Geneva.

It is quickly accessible to the ordinary American because it generally speaks in English. It may speak with a French, a Spanish, a Polish accent. The fact remains that in spite of its official use of French as well as English, it does speak and use a great deal of English. Perhaps one reason is that the secretary general, Sir Eric Drummond, is a Scotsman. Perhaps another reason is the linguistic insularity of the English and Americans. Perhaps another reason is the acceptance of English as the trade language of the Continent. Anyway, the American visitor finds himself communing with a doorman who was formerly an English butler, with a switchboard operator who reaches English via French Switzerland, and with an American librarian who speaks Philadelphian. As for the four hundred persons throughout the establishment, even the most unsympathetic Latin or Slavic European uses English when necessary, in order to facilitate business.

Proceeding, then, on the basis of the English language, one can go right to Arthur Sweetser of Boston, who is second in command in the publicity department. Like most of the secretariat, Mr. Sweetser is under forty, and like most of them he is versatile. He was one of the first Americans to write a book on the war, which he literally followed on a bicycle, from Belgium into France. He later wrote a book on the American air service. And he has written several books on the League of Nations. Ready enough in off-hours to coach the Swiss team for the Davis Cup, he is one of the hardest workers at Geneva, and he is perfectly ready to help the American visitor to judge the league for himself. Through him, one can discover how this secretariat works.

THE secretariat, for obvious reasons, is a body composed of many nations. Over forty, I understand, are represented. Its members are in some cases tested by examination, but this does not apply to the men and women in crucial positions. They are appointed by the secretary general. But though the secretary general has nominally a free hand in making appointments, and though he is himself a Tory Scot who will one day be the Earl of Perth, the truth is that the appointments are in general made on the basis of extremely high qualifications.

Politics in a few cases has dictated the appointment of questionable persons. But this human defect, which is observable in almost every office in the world, and which asserts itself in the appointment of supreme court justices, bishops, police captains, choir masters, reverend mothers and lifeguards, has as yet resulted in no scandal among the personnel of the league. Hungry reporters have been known to visit the league in the hope of some sensational story, and there was a hint that on one occasion a certain diplomat altered a document he was supposed to file while the filing clerk was out to lunch. But his second-rate movie theme is the nearest to a sensation that the league has provided. And it did not even remotely touch the secretariat.

In the personnel of the secretariat neither the English nor the French are dominant. Out of the small nations, to the surprise of the insular, have come a considerable number of men of first-rate faculty, and these men are to be found at the head of important sections. What strikes one most is not the Englishmen and Frenchmen that one meets, but the Norwegians, the Dutch, the Spanish, the Swiss and the Danes. There is a uniformity about them, because of the quality of mind, the intensity of their energy, and the nature of their international faith. They represent, in all probability, the best intellectual element in their own countries and they make one of the finest groups that exists in the world.

Several conditions combine to keep them from being formidable or pretentious. From the start, following the lead of Sir Eric Drummond, there has been no attempt to ape the social life of diplomatic circles. The salaries as a whole are low, and most of the secretariat live extremely simply. They may go swimming in the lake at lunch time, they may have an occasional dance, or they may go to the cabaret which the municipality of Geneva obligingly provides for its own citizens. They may even, I suppose, risk up to five francs on the municipal roulette wheel. But for the most part they are to be seen walking around or cycling around with brief cases, or gravely lunching with visitors at the Club International.

The height of excitement is to go to a country club on the outskirts of the city, where the tennis courts are much frequented and the food is very good. But these men are limited, self-limited, to seven years' service at Geneva. They do not blindly believe in the league. They are not fools. But they see in it an instrument for a better world and their main topic of conversation is "shop". Not one of them, in my experience, flags in the discussion of the real job of internationalism. But whether it is opium, or the Saar Basin, or mandates, or Albania, or the great problem of transit, or disarmament, or intellectual cooperation, you find in their talk the thickness of fact, the sharp savor of vitality. The type of mind is the mind one finds in universities and laboratories, but at Geneva it shines extraordinarily bright with the hard use that is being made of it.

THE main business of the secretariat is to *know*. Like all bodies of permanent officials, however, this body of officials possesses great power simply because it has knowledge. In dealing with the council and the assembly, with special commissions and conferences, it is largely able to decide, and does decide, the things that actually get done. Knowing the state of international relations, the actual texture of them, the breaks in the fabric and the quality of the thread, the secretariat is in a position to make or mar the policy shaped by the assembly and the work directed by the council. A good secretariat may not mean a good League of Nations. But there cannot be a good League of Nations without a good secretariat.

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As a sample of the work that comes to the secretariat, take the job that was created for the league right at the start by the rottenness of military civilization and imperialism in regard to racial minorities. (Remember, by the way, that ninety million people changed hands as a result of the war, and that, under the old system, there was no one to look out for their treatment except the great powers, which in practice either did nothing for them or else used them as pawns in their own game.)

If you want to learn what is being done about race minorities, you find yourself presented to a Dane, Helmer Rosting. It is his business, under the director of his section, to know everything about the present state of race minorities—in Poland, in Czecho-Slovakia, in the S. C. S. State, in Roumania, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Finland, Albania, Esthonia, Latvia. He is the conductor of grievance and conflict from the existing race minorities to the council and assembly of the league.

In so far as the league has definite responsibilities under the covenant, Herr Rosting is not only the person who aims to condense the will of the assembly and council and carry out their orders, but he is the recording angel, the active memory, and the goad. He knows what the conflicts and grievances are, because the race minorities come to him, as a result of having sent petition or report to the council, which means the secretary general. They come to him, and he sees what there is to do. If these race conflicts and grievances go on the agenda—which, if serious, they do—he sees that they are not ignored. When a committee is appointed as a result of some particular agitation, he becomes the recording angel of that committee. When the findings of the committee go back to the assembly or the council, he is at hand to record, to refer and to consult. The final action and decision of the league is also a matter in which he is vitally concerned, in his role as recording angel. And it is his business as a disinterested and impartial agent of an international organization, not to initiate policy or to dictate it, but to see that the council and the assembly intervene in given situations, as ordained by the covenant.

What, then, does the league achieve in regard to race minorities? It establishes a machinery by which an oppressed minority is enabled to invoke the power of the league in support of its rights, as guaranteed by treaty. (Any treaty, in fact, that is registered with the league.) The league is thus placed in direct relation to the race minorities. Those minorities, in turn, are held to be bound by their treaties. The league is merely inclined to uphold them in their primary rights. The administrative commissions, the secretariat, the local minorities offices, are all instrumentalities by which men are induced to conform to the prevailing will. And the Permanent Court of Justice is also invoked to weave another strand in the web of restraint and censorship and treaty rights.

SUCH is the work of one department in one section. But the machinery of the secretariat is world-inclusive. Leaving out the Labor Office, which has its own huge organization, you discover in the league building in Geneva a working political system which can tackle almost anything. It can uproot age-old growths. It can pick up pins. If it is restricted at present, that is because the current supplied to it by its fifty-two nations is fitful and rather hysterical. Granted a real stream of power, the league is designed to perform functions and services that make any other political machine seem as simple as a tooth-pick.

Its political machinery includes such novelties as the registration of treaties. The world, up to date, has seen to it that dog licenses are registered in individual countries, but has never provided that treaties should be registered in any one place, as between states or departments of states. Here, in an actual big book, treaties are now registered and copies of them periodically published. It is a long step in the direction of world memory.

THERE is a section on disarmament, with a secretariat hungrily waiting to take action. There is a section on mandates, to see that the treatment of economically backward territories is not left to the mercies of so-called white men. The section of finance has already shouldered the burden of Austrian reconstruction and has had economists like Professor Seligman of Columbia working on its "double taxation" sub-committee. There is a most important section on transit and communications. To point to the work that has been done in America, by the Interstate Commerce Commission, in the way of co-ordination, is to indicate the world-field in which this section has to operate, surrounded by chaos and old night.

The political activities of the league tend to merge in its social activities, and vice-versa. But the secretariat has had an obviously humanitarian job in its section on health. The world epidemic of influenza, which cost millions of lives, showed once and for all the evils that cross frontiers without respect of custom regulation. A great work has been undertaken by the league in regard to public health. At present this work is largely confined to such diseases as become international through epidemic. Malaria, typhus and relapsing fever have received the major part of its attention. But when you realize that four million people have died of typhus within the past five years, in Russia alone, you see the enormous consequence of such disease. The health section has interchanged medical personnel, and its work is so significant that it has had the active support of every type of government, from Soviet Russia to the America of Mr. Hughes.

The secretariat has been active in the work of the repatriation of prisoners, which Dr. Nansen has directed. This work has given back homes to 420,000 homeless and helpless men, the human debris of the military collapse of Russia.

The humanitarian machinery of the league is also employed with the problem of opium and drugs, and with the problem of world-traffic in prostitutes.

In regard to high-power drugs, the programme of the league so far has not been very effective. The German and English manufacturers deluge the world with dangerous narcotics. So do the United States manufacturers. The policy of the United States government, outside the league, is to advocate the reduction of the amount produced. This calls for a condition which does not exist, the existence in Turkey and Persia and India of governments that are responsive to public opinion. The British Empire is exceedingly uncomfortable over the criticisms of America, and yet the Indian bureaucracy, which has a seat in the league, has a very bad attitude on the whole question. But if India had a perfect attitude and totally suppressed opium,

(*Continued on page* 64)

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Christ stript of his garments

The Life of Christ

Four etchings from a series

By JEAN LOUIS FORAIN

Published by courtesy of the C. W. Kraushaar Art Galleries

IN his drawings and paintings, etchings and lithographs Jean Louis Forain had, for half a century, constantly and ruthlessly attacked French institutions, the law-courts, the theaters and various aspects of contemporary life, always a bitter satirist. And then he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in middle age and on his return, to the Shrine at Lourdes. We are here reproducing what followed—his series of plates inspired by the life of Christ. Here we find not bitterness, not satire, but a deep compassionate humanity.

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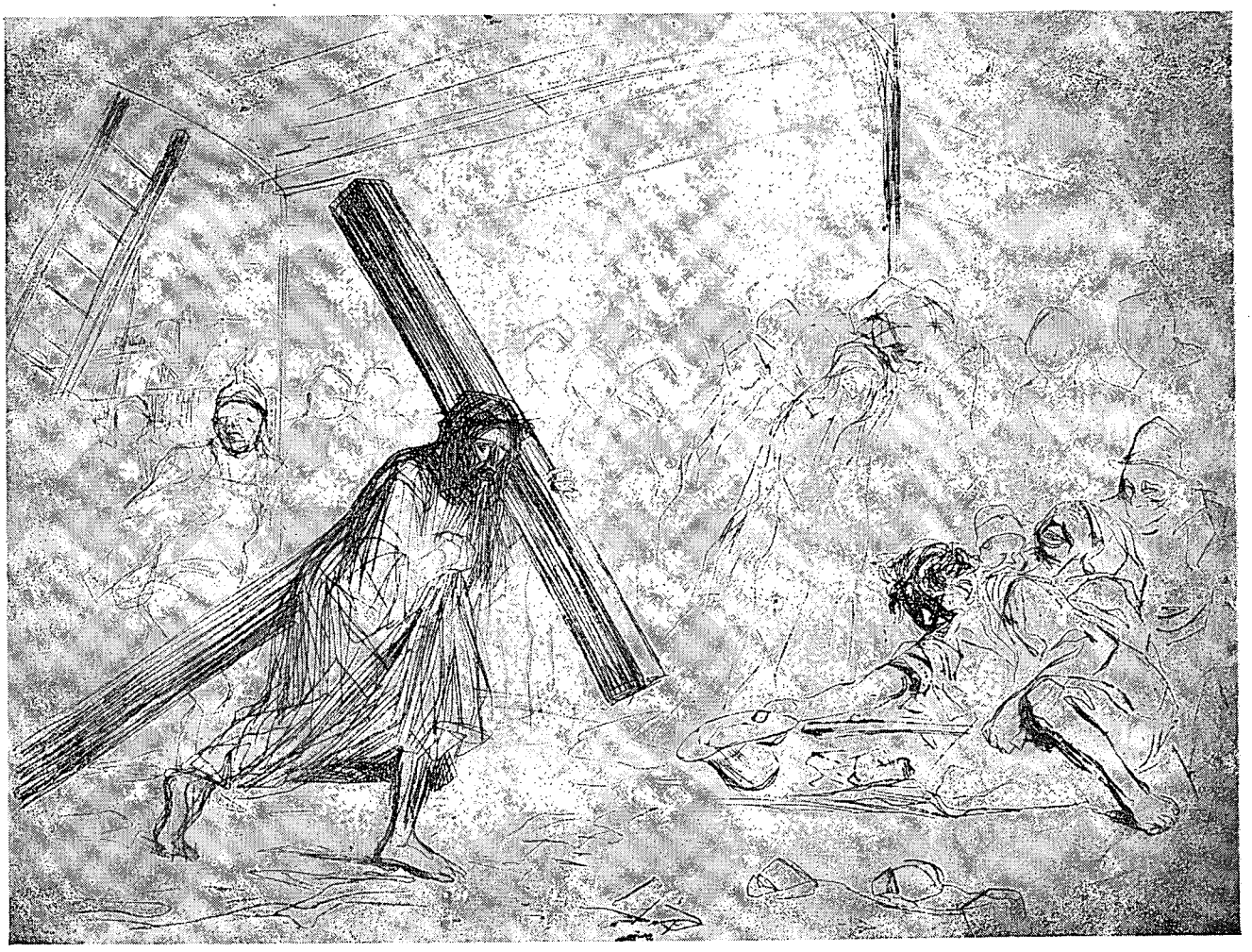

Bearing the cross

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Pietà—first plate

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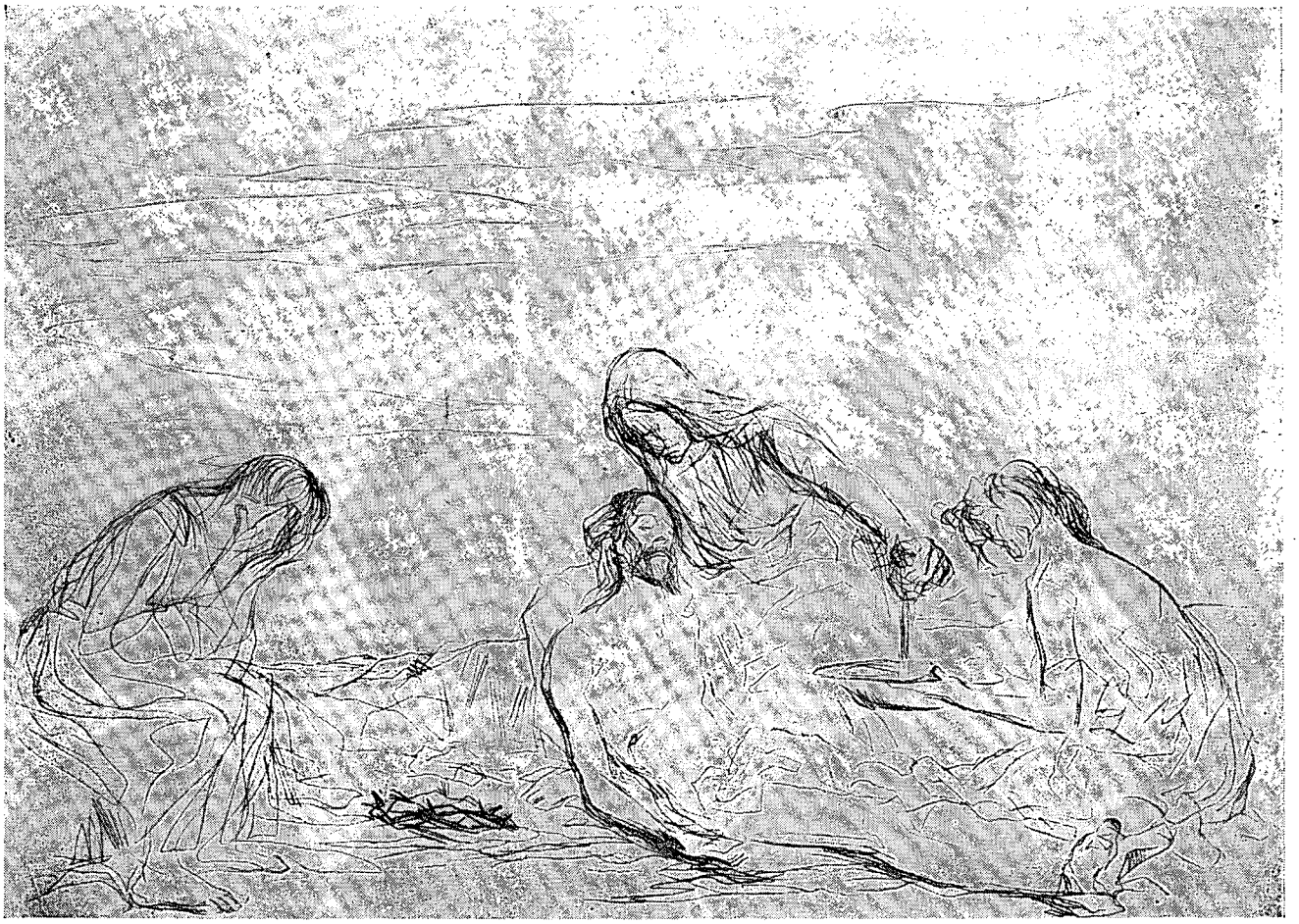

Pieté

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Caiaphas at the Cross

By WILLIAM E. BROOKS

"THE fool to think that He could stand alone,
Could spurn me and could win the world with dreams!
He has my answer now, clean through His hands,
And through His feet, the nails I've driven home . . .
Will hold Him helpless till in agony
He bows His head and knows He is a fool,
For scorning me who might have made Him great . . .
The man had power, He could have swayed the mob;
See how they followed madly in His train
That day He rode in triumph o'er the hill
And entered in the city like a King,
Amid the shouts and waving of the palms.
I would have made Him King had he but heard.
Together we'd have sent that Roman horde
Flying beyond the seas and built anew
The ancient glory of our nation here,
And with that glory made ourselves secure!
He who was born amid the lowing kine
And spent His youth in squalid Nazareth,
And lived these years a wanderer, shelterless,
Had dwelt in splendor there on Zion hill,
Had He but listened to my careful plan. . .
The man had no ambition! Idle dreams
About a happy world of happy men,
Where all were brothers and all kings were gone,
Filled up His days. But I grown old in power
Know that the world was never made for dreams.
It kills its dreamers. It obeys the man
Who dares to do the thing he wants to do
Nor cares about the way. I'd made Him King,
And I beside the lion throne would stand,
His counsellor—(His master is the word) . . .
His power with men, the cunning of my brain,
What prizes would the years have brought to us!
He'd none of it. With set determined face
He spurned the chance I gave, declaring He
Would move men's hearts with words instead of swords.
What did He want? I offered everything
For which men give their lives, and sell their souls,
The kingdoms and the glories of this world.
'Get thee behind me, Satan', were His words,
To hear Him speak you would think I tempted Him! . . .
So there He hangs who spurned Caiaphas' aid.
He threw a crown away, He has His cross,
A warning to all dreamers through the years."

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Silk Stockings

By ELEANOR ROWLAND WEMBRIDGE

Illustrations by Esther Andrews

SIXTEEN is a romantic age, and Anna was sixteen. She was also a candy packer, and received for this labor $12.00 a week. Of this sum she paid $7.00 to her father for room and board, and the joint care of her little brother who was still in school, $ .72 for car-fares to work, $1.50 to take herself and her little brother to the movies Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday nights, and $ .25 for stamps and note paper. This left exactly $2.53 each week to spend for shoes, aprons, rouge, underwear, dentist, movie magazines, extra car-fare, gum, talcum powder, overshoes, hairnets, dresses, insurance for her funeral, insurance for her little brother's funeral, hair-curlers, a winter coat, a summer hat . . . and silk stockings.

"Who put bandages on the grand piano, Anna? Are you sixty? I thought you wuz sixteen"

To purchase all these necessities on $2.53 requires some financial engineering. The reason for the board money was that her father had been out of work and was in debt. The reason for the movies was that of course one had to go. The reason for the stamps and note-paper was that Anna had a correspondent to whom she wrote daily. She had never seen him, but she had found his address in the paper, and Anna was romantic.

Her letters written every evening and around which her imagination circled all day, were on this order:

Dear Bud,

Say Kid, I sure am lonesome. Do you like sweet sixteen? That's me. I saw the swell film last night, The Woman Pays. That's God's truth. She sure does. Ain't it the truth? Think of me when you read this. I sure think of you. How many girls you got or am I the only one? I sure am true. Are you? Here's time to close. You know what crosses mean, don't say you don't. You ain't no canary but I am a chicken. Haha joke. your Anna.

Every evening Anna penned variations on this theme and while they may not have conveyed much valuable information, at least they were letters, they relieved her feelings and they took as much note-paper and postage as if she had said something.

In the course of this interchange of mutual regard, the unseen one had written that he had got married but that a friend was willing to assume the burden of answering her letters. This shift was perfectly satisfactory to Anna, and the correspondence continued to flourish without a jolt in the machinery or a change of literary style.

ANY story of Anna's career would be incomplete which left out a determining factor of her life, which was that, although only sixteen, she weighed 185 pounds. She sprang from a stock built for long hours of labor in a Russian wheat field, and long hours on a stool in an American candy factory had made her proportions unduly generous for her age. Hence the fact that an interchange of letters with an unseen admirer flourished more vigorously than dance dates with the boys whom she saw and admired but who asked other girls to go with them.

And hence the peculiarly critical problem of her silk stockings.

As every woman knows, the bargains in silk stockings, the sales where left-overs, and artificial silks, and factory seconds, are disposed of for $.85, cannot be patronized by outsized legs. Let slender little girls of attenuated stock wear them if they will. Stout Anna fresh from the farm with heavy bones and muscles strong as iron, could not average more than two weeks to a pair of good quality. As for an inferior make, she could scarcely wear them a day without that dismal cracking sound followed by a "run," which put them as much out of commission as a silk hat run over by a truck. For Anna nothing short of a $2 pair was worth the buying. So obviously, an average bi-weekly investment of $2 for hosiery meant that all the other necessities of life must be bought for $1.53. Such was Anna's budget.

NOW comes the obvious comment. Since silk stockings are so expensive and so perishable—why buy them? What right had Anna to a luxury which she could not afford? And therein lies the whole story. The simple fact was, that to Anna and to all her friends, silk stockings were far more to be desired than heaven or food.

Many were the devices by which other articles of dress were imitated or their absence concealed. Hats, blouses, sweaters, and capes, could be borrowed, dyed, made over, and camouflaged in a hundred ways. As for all undergarments that did not show, they were cheerfully dispensed with.

But stockings! One cannot make them, borrow them, nor go without. Disagree as the girls in the factory often did in their arguments about religion; the relative merits of carnation versus violet perfume; the duty of giving one's pay to one's parents; and the desirability of early marriage —on one point they were all agreed. American ladies must wear stockings, and those stockings must be of silk. The

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mothers of the girls denied this; but the daughters gave to their mothers opinions the same kindly but condescending shrug which we all bestow upon the quaint notions of the foreign-born.

They had used their eyes on the street, in the movies, in the shops, and even in the churches and the schools, and it had been amply demonstrated to them that American ladies never ventured forth in the kind of stockings which foreign mothers thought their daughters should afford. "My mother, she says she don't see no sense to wearing silk ones," said Rosie Procincio. "She says they're extravagant. But she don't see no sense to wearing any at all, half the time. She just don't understand." And the other girls wagged their heads wisely. In America one must do as the Americans do, a fact which their parents could not grasp. Rosie got her silk stockings by withholding from her mother the news that she had got a raise, and pocketing the surplus. Letty worked Saturday afternoons and saved the overtime for stockings. Suzanne took the money allowed her for her lunch. Whereas stolid Mame, could think of no more subtle method, than to take what she wanted from her pay envelope when necessary, and to endure the subsequent parental punishment with a philosophy developed through years of family squabbles.

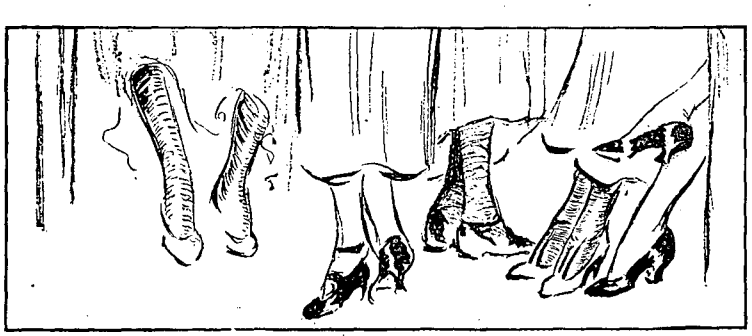
A Loose Leaf from the PSYCHOLOGIST'S DICTIONARY

Egotism (*f. ego + ism*) That instinct which makes us want to be well thought of by our associates. The sense of inferiority which results when egotism has no legitimate satisfaction is exceptionally strong in youth, and when complicated by foreign background and scanty purse often leads to anti-social behavior. The egotism of the untrained girl is apt to express itself in noticeable dress, for dress is to her a symbol of social prestige, sex attainment and personal worth; e. g. silk stockings.

"I won't ever get a husband if I don't wear 'em!"—Anna.

ANNA, after an argument with a thrifty family friend, and an unusually penniless week, had once gone self-consciously to work in cotton hose. She was met with—"Who put bandages on the grand piano, Anna?" "Are you sixty? I thought you wuz sixteen." "That's right, girlie, save your money. I wish I could." "Did you dance your feet out of the other pair, or are you saving 'em in your hope chest? "Better wear 'em before you're married or you'll never get 'em afterwards." "Why not paint some on, and save *all* your money?" And so on and so on. Poor Anna tried to make a few bright sallies in return, but she was not very quick of speech, and after all, what could she say? The other girls had stated the exact truth.

She *had* laid aside her one extra pair against the time when she might meet her unseen friend at the station, and walk proudly with him to the priest. But this evening after work she could hardly get home fast enough to pull them out of the old orange-crate which figured as her hope chest. They represented some weeks of saving for they were chiffon hose of the $4.00 variety. She sighed a little that they must be wasted on the factory instead of being saved for Frank. But she had no choice. She knew that she could never bear another day of such humiliation, as that which she had just passed through. The next morning a chorus of "Gee, look at the swell socks. Who's your friend? I'll bet they set back the poor gink for five berries." "Don't put your wad in that bank, Anna. The spider-web national ain't safe." "Say, girlie, give me the loan of 'em tonight. They just match my new kicks," and similar cheerful comments, salved all wounds, and Anna's self respect was restored.



Mystic marks of a happy citizenship

But the greatest event in Anna's life hitherto, was yet to come. One evening about a week after this episode, she found a letter waiting for her on her return from the factory. It ran:

Dear anna, how is it can you come? I got house and fonograf most paid for. good job to. if you like be my wife come 10:30 train to sladeville if you dont want it, send back ticket. law will get you if you take ticket and dont come, but you come and have nice home near pictures. hope you can work good. i love you. Frank.

NOW a proposal is an interesting event to any woman at any time, no matter what her age or her occupation. But a proposal to sixteen-year-old Anna, after a year in a candy factory with no local beaux, a trip to an unknown city full of pictures, and a lover's proof of sincerity in the shape of a railroad ticket was enough to take her breath away. It meant leaving her father and brother without a housekeeper; but Anna could not even face the possibility of not using her ticket at once. She avoided argument when possible, so she decided to take no risk of refusal from her father, but to run away. A hurried post card ornamented with a highly colored pair of lovers sent word to Frank when he might expect his bride.

The next morning she got her father's breakfast, hurried her brother off to school, and opened the purse. There would be no pay from the factory for another week, but she could not wait for that. With her last $12.00 she had already paid her board and loaned $3.00 to her father. That left $2.00. She had also paid $.50 for a movie and $.50 for fares, which left her with three quarters and two dimes after the post card had been mailed. She laid the coins and the ticket on the table, and turned to pack the contents of the orange-crate in a newspaper. Then she bent down incautiously, to put on her best slippers. Crack—the threads of the overworked chiffon hose gave way, and two runs tore like lightening from each ruptured knee and disappeared into the toe of each slipper. In an instant both stockings were the most hopeless wrecks that ever faced an exasperated bride. This was too much. The

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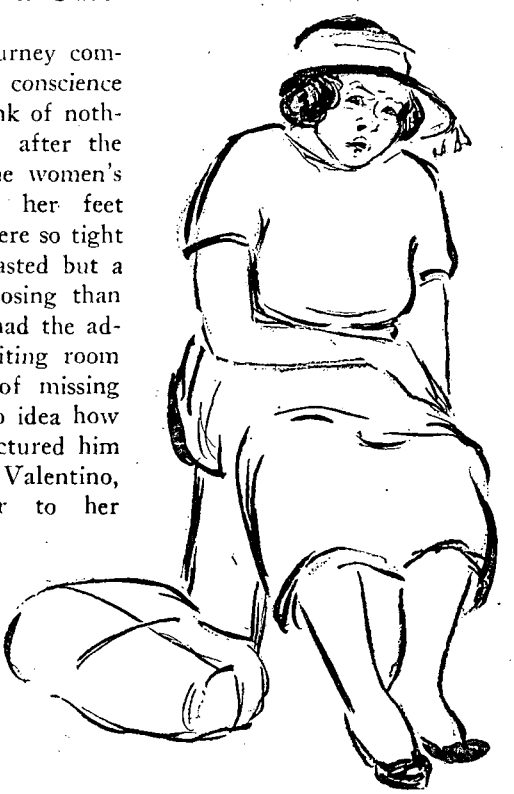
train went within an hour. She had got to be in it, and she had got to greet her lover in silk stockings. There was but one way. She gave a hasty twist to the remnants which she wore, tied up her bundle, and hurried to the store on the corner where she did so much of her "window shopping." While the woman in charge was waiting on another customer, Anna slipped a pair of stockings from the counter under her bundle and walked out of the store. Once around the corner she ran for the train as fast as she could go. At the station a wait of a few minutes ended her suspense, and she was seated hot and breathless in the train for a three hour run to Sladeville.

The excitement of her journey completely eclipsed any pricks of conscience for her theft. She could think of nothing but the joy ahead, and after the change had been made in the women's compartment, of how nice her feet looked, even if the slippers were so tight that they hurt. Sladeville boasted but a small station, much less imposing than the one she had left, but it had the advantage that in its small waiting room there would be no chance of missing Frank. Although she had no idea how he looked, her dreams had pictured him in the likeness of Rudolph Valentino, and her wish was father to her thoughts.



BUT no Rudolph remained after the other passengers had left the station; no one but a small swarthy elderly man who was nervously wiping a bald brow with a blue bandana handkerchief. Anna stood ready to cry with disappointment, and the elderly man looked equally distressed.

Finally he stepped up to Anna, "Did you see a nice little girl on that train, named Anna—Anna Kopsky?" he asked, furtively making sure of the name from a postcard in his hand. Anna stared at him and at the card, with amazement.

"That's my name," she said, and then an idea striking her, "did Frank Severino ask you to come for me?" she inquired eagerly.

The little man stared, "I am Frank Severino," he gasped huskily.

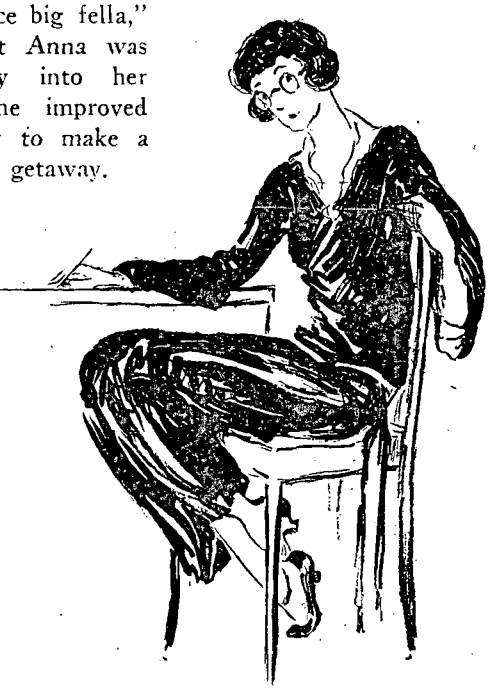
Never did dreams meet facts with a ruder clash. Anna's mind was so full of her Rudolph image that she could hardly believe her eyes. As for poor Frank, the lonely widower, his idle fancy of a girl slender and dark such as he used to dance with when he was a boy in Italy, was so overwhelmed by the actuality of the powerful Anna, that he instinctively edged away from her and glanced toward the door.

But his wits speedily came back, for after all he was experienced in the ways of women, having had two wives, and several daughters of Anna's age. He recovered his voice first.

"Maybe you no like this town," he insinuated, sidling toward the ticket office. "Maybe you want to go home."

Anna was crying, but she nodded her head, and accepted the ticket which Frank soon shoved into her hand.

"Thas right. You go home like nice girl," said Frank. "You marry nice big fella," and seeing that Anna was sobbing blindly into her handkerchief, he improved the opportunity to make a quick but quiet getaway.



"Wearing cotton stockings is nothing to be ashamed of," moralized the lady, "your mother got along without silk ones because she couldn't afford them . . ." "My mother didn't wear silk stockings because she was a foreigner—but I'm an American, and Americans wear silk stockings."

"Ten bones," he muttered, when he got safely out of sight. "Ten bones, but thas all right. No good. Too big. Ten bones vera cheap get rid that girl."

There was nothing for Anna to do but to take the next train back, and from then on events moved rapidly. Her agitated father had informed the police of her flight, the shopkeeper had done the same. The stockings which were now on Anna's stout legs, and whose origin she had completely forgotten, were easily identified, and before she had wholly recovered her wits, she found herself seated in an office trying to remember how it all started.

"I don't know why I took them, lady," she moaned miserably. Of course she had taken them because she *had* to have them, and could get them in no other way. But that explanation was too obvious to make, so she made none.

"But Anna, you cannot afford silk stockings. Why don't you wear cotton ones?" inquired the lady at the desk.

"They all laugh," sniffed Anna. "Once I did, and one fella, he sez, 'I met a good girl,' and another fella, he says, 'How did ya know she wuz good?' and the other fella, that's the first fella, he sez, 'Because she wears cotton stockings.' And everybody laughed. The girls laughed too, and that put shame on me."

"Wearing cotton stockings is nothing to be ashamed of," moralized the lady. "Your mother got along without silk ones because she couldn't afford them. And you can't afford them, and probably your husband won't be able to," she added severely.

(*Continued on page* 64)

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The New Pied Pipers

By NEVA R. DEARDORFF

WHILE it is unquestionably out of fashion to be pied, there still seems to be a great urge to be a Piper. Modern Pipers are not however so direct in their methods as was he of Hamelin who managed the musical kidnapping of all but one of the children of the town. Nor so simple in their motives. Perhaps sometime it may be possible so to probe their minds and life histories that we shall know why people otherwise individualistic and thoroughly orthodox in their beliefs regarding the fundamental, not to say sacred, character of the family, have set about to colonize boys and girls in orphanages and children's institutions and raise them in a communal fashion. Pending such knowledge we may turn to what happens when this impulse finds expression.

Pipers in the United States have a colonial ancestry and piping has a long history, mostly sad. The vanguard of the Pipers have, however, journeyed far from the time when this impulse was satisfied by herding together a collection of children of all sorts and keeping them at an Oliver Twist level of subsistence. Almshouse methods in the care of children are now generally regarded with disfavor. The public disapproval of this system, so cheap and easy for the time being, so devastating to the child's health and personality and eventually so costly to the community, has led the more sensitive and well-to-do of our older institutions to install high standards of physical care, to try to imitate the relationships of good family life and to make their school and recreation service at least as good as those of the outside world. New leadership in old institutions, and new institutions crystalized around newer concepts of child care, have played their part as well as this negative public pressure. Some have cottage homes for the children, with carefully chosen and highly qualified people in charge. In some particulars a very few institutions have exceeded community standards of health supervision, school instruction and recreational opportunities. Some have decentralized to the point of creating children's villages and have tried to secure participation in life outside their confines. Coincident with these improvements inside the institution, has come a growth of constructive public interest in the care of dependent children which makes it far more difficult to march children into the Koppelberg and issue no annual reports thereafter. If one assumes the responsibilities of a parent to numbers of children, the burden of proof is on him to show that he is coming within hailing distance at least of what the community offers the child outside and of the standards which the leaders in institutional care have created and established.

THESE changes in the business of piping have brought many implications, not the least important of which is cost. It is this new implication which it is our desire to explore. What pace are the leading institutions setting for those who aspire to pipe? To find this out four institutions were studied—Girard College in Philadelphia; Mooseheart, near Aurora, Illinois; Carson College at Flourtown, Pennsylvania; and the Orphanage at Hastings-on-Hudson, New York. The Hershey Industrial School was also visited and its costs ascertained. All take children who are quite young and keep them for long periods of time. Each maintains its own school for all or the greater part of the children under its care. All earnestly desire to do good work, all are in good circumstances. Each has individuality.

Only with a picture of their antecedents and present service before us can we have an understanding of their costs in a way which will make clear the questions of policy which confront such institutions and confront the communities which give children into their keeping for their pliant years.

THERE are few figures more colorful, more typically American in their combination of the practical, brusque and shrewd with the altruistic and generous, than that of the first American millionaire and large-scale philanthropist, Stephen Girard. Though born in France, he became the very embodiment of American spirit. His is one of the stories which underlie the American tradition of opportunity for poor boys to become rich through keen intellect, ceaseless effort and frugality. When in 1793 in the midst of a yellow fever epidemic and a reign of panic fear, he rolled up his sleeves and took over the task of managing the pest house and helping with the nursing he added one of the finest entries in the annals of Philadelphia. But his story needs no recounting; our concern is with the bequest of his fortune, and its influence upon subsequent benefactions.

Girard's will, the result of his own long-cherished ideas combined with the legal skill of William J. Duane and possibly Horace Binney, successfully withstood even the attack of Daniel Webster before the Supreme Court of the United States and still excites the intense admiration of legal minds. Standing like the Rock of Gibraltar and the law of the Medes and the Persians, to both of which, along with the Constitution of the United States, it was compared in the last annual report of the Board of City Trusts which administers the College and the Residuary Fund, it forms an outstanding precedent to childless millionaires who, it would seem, become peculiarly susceptible to piping impulses when they come to make their wills.

The significance of Girard's trust can be seen only in the light of the social conditions which existed at the time it was made. No public schools, no schools offering vocational training, very poor control of health, a high mortality among parents, life insurance in its infancy, public relief of the crudest sort, no workmen's compensation, no mother's pensions, no public recreation for children, sectarianism rife in the community, yet a country young and full of promise, and greatly needing technically trained men—these were the elements in the situation as it confronted Stephen Girard. In the light of that situation as well as for its legal stability, his will is a remarkable document. Its principal flaw is its supposition of a static condition of society.

It is to be regretted that some of those who have followed Girard's example have followed the flaw rather than the sound example of trying to use wealth to meet observable present needs in new and better ways.

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GIRARD COLLEGE: sacro-sanct legacy of the financier of the War of 1812; a congregate institution which has molded benefactions for seventy-five years

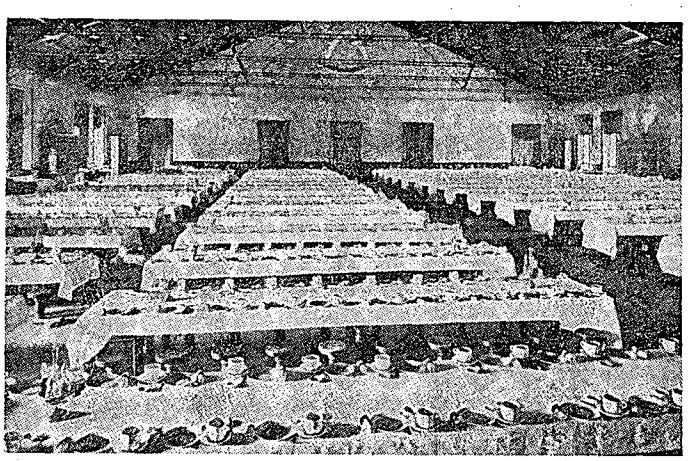
OF our five institutions, Girard College stands out as a landmark in the history of institutional care of children. The school was opened sixteen years after Girard's death in December, 1831. In accordance with his very specific directions, surrounding the buildings and grounds had been erected, sunk solidly into the earth, that ten foot wall with its double gate, which is well nigh as famous in the history of American education as the Great Wall of China.

During its first year the school admitted a hundred of the "poor white male orphans between the ages of six and ten years" specified by the will as eligible. The Pennsylvania courts have since said that orphan means fatherless. The will provided that the children were to be indentured to the school and were to remain until they had arrived "at between fourteen and eighteen years of age" when they were bound out "to suitable occupations, as those of agriculture, navigation, arts, mechanical trades, and manufactures, according to the capacities and acquirements of the scholars respectively; consulting, as far as prudence shall justify it, the inclinations of the several scholars, as to the occupation, art, or trade, to be learned." It was only as these first children grew up that it was necessary to add to the elementary instruction and develop the secondary and the vocational school. At present the school includes 28 regular high school teachers, 6 teachers in the commercial department, 15 in the mechanical department, 6 teachers of special subjects and 36 regular and special teachers in the elementary school.

Besides Girard's dictum, as famous as the wall and linked with it—that the boys were to receive no instruction from ecclesiastics of any denomination, and were to be protected from "the excitements which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce," his will had some other directions about the kind of education his institution was to provide. In the first place, teachers and other necessary agents were to be chosen "on account of their merit, and not through favor and intrigue." He directed that the children were to have plain but wholesome food, plain but decent apparel ("no distinctive dress ever to be worn") and were to be lodged "in a plain but safe manner." His directions with regard to the buildings indicate that he expected the boys to live in large dormitories, and such is the practice still followed.

Due regard [says the will] shall be paid to their health, and to this end their persons and clothes shall be kept clean, and they shall have suitable and rational exercise and recreation: They shall be instructed in the various branches of a sound education, comprehending reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, navigation, surveying, practical mathematics, astronomy, natural, chemical and experimental philosophy, the French and Spanish languages (I do not forbid, but I do not recommend, the Greek and Latin Languages)—and such other learning and science, as the capacities of the several scholars may merit or warrant: I would have them taught facts and things, rather than words or signs: And, especially, I desire, that by every proper means, a pure attachment to our republican institutions, and to the sacred rights of conscience, as guaranteed by our happy constitutions, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars. . . . My desire is, that all the instructors and teachers in the college shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence towards their fellow creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer.

At the time of Girard's death, the land, the funds available for the buildings and the funds from which the current income were to be drawn, have been estimated as worth $5,260,000—a large fortune for those days. The next two decades were, however, times of great financial stress; the Estate lost heavily through the decline in value of stocks and bonds; Girard's heirs succeeded in recovering all real estate acquired after the last re-publication of the will, and other land holdings were lost through defective titles or poor surveys. Even so, after these deductions and meeting the cost of erecting the college buildings, the estate consisted of securities valued at $448,000, Girard's banking house on Third Street, a number of stores, warehouses, dwellings, wharves, vacant lots, and over six hundred acres of farm land in the county of Philadelphia. Of the seventy-three tracts, containing over 29,000 acres "on the Mahanoy" in Schuylkill and Columbia counties, some of the most valuable portions had been lost to the Girard heirs. The Philadelphia property has grown steadily in value and the income from it has greatly increased; but it has been his remaining anthracite holdings that since 1863 have turned out to be a philanthropic Eldorado. In 1877 the Board of City Trusts, which administers this and other bequests to the city, adopted the policy of regarding the revenues from coal as capital and put three-fourths back into a residuary fund; in 1897 it was decided to put all such coal receipts back. In 1898 the residuary fund, including the college plant, was valued at $27,000,000. The 1922 financial statement set it at nearly $55,500,000 The net income that year from the property in Philadelphia amounted to $1,132,027.49, the net income from stocks and loans totaled $1,179,117.02; the $2,032,292.51 derived from coal was re-invested.



The twelve hundred older boys are still fed in a great barn-like building with long tables and small round stools, although since 1858 there has been talk of changing the present congregate system to some form of small group organization suggesting family life

The handling of such an estate is in itself a tremendous business: the very wealth which Girard put behind his generous proposal moulded the personnel of the trustees who have ac

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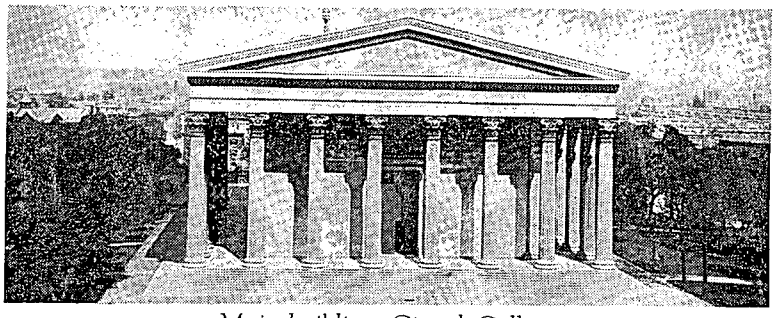
ministered it and they in turn have shaped its policies. As a financial institution, turning coal into money endowment, the Girard trust stands high; but what of expertness and imagination in carrying out Girard's educational purpose in preparing boys for a life of independence in free America?



Main building, Girard College

When the school opened in 1848 the yearly income from the estate available for its support totaled $118,000. This was considered ample for maintaining three hundred boys, the number then contemplated. By the end of twenty-five years their number had increased to 546. With the revenues from the coal and the steady increase from the real estate it was possible almost to treble the number of pupils during the second twenty-five years. Thus in 1898 there were 1,536 boys in the school. The per capita operating expense during the first half century remained relatively stable. Since then, the number of boys has remained stable and the per capita cost has steadily risen. Pupils, teachers, housemasters, governesses, administrative staff, trained nurses and minor employees now compose a community of about 2,000 people. The teachers do not, however, live on the grounds.

With the vast sums of wealth at its disposal, it would seem that the Board of City Trusts easily could have adjusted its service to changing conditions and have kept the school as far in advance of the times as Girard envisaged it at the beginning. An examination of the annual reports of the Board of City Trusts indicates where its efficiency lies. They tell a story of almost complete absorption in watching the residuary fund grow year by year. In a speech to the boys at the seventy-fifth anniversary the chairman of the board made an impressive and dramatic prediction that by the time of the centennial celebration the fund would have reached the hundred million mark!

But the annual reports of the presidents of the college tell a less triumphant story. Since 1858 there has been talk of changing from the present congregate system to some form of small group organization suggesting family life; but the twelve hundred older boys are still fed in a great barn-like building with long tables and small round stools. They are housed in dormitories, each with thirty to thirty-five cots; sometimes the cot has a chair beside it. The boys keep their few personal possessions in lockers in the dormitories and study rooms in the building. The three hundred younger boys all live and have their lessons in one large building with a separate playground adjoining. They, too, have one large dining-room, and dormitories. In some particulars the plumbing and sanitary arrangements of the institution have not been kept abreast of the times.

That this cloistered life in a congregate institution has its limitations as a preparation for life is illustrated in a homely way by the reminiscences of a student of twenty-odd years ago (appearing in Steel and Garnet during 1922), who wrote that he did not have a chair on which to sit during a long period of his life in Girard College. In the section room he sat on a bench, in the dining room on a stool, in the school room at a desk, in the chapel on another bench. This boy, "knowing that people generally sit on chairs, for a part of the time at least," had the feeling that he was not living a normal life at Girard College. Chairs are now more prevalent; but a graduate of 1921, who was awarded the school medal for all-around efficiency at a good boarding school the following year, confessed that he had been repeatedly embarrassed and chagrined at his bad manners at meals; and wished "for the boys of Girard College more opportunities for social life, and their participation in the activities and relationships of social intercourse." The incidents are cited by President Cheeseman T. Herrick who adds:

> The superintendent of household reports on the embarrassment and lack of confidence of our senior boys when they face what is to them the social ordeal of going to a class supper or taking the annual trip to the coal regions or to Washington. Almost invariably before such a supper or trip, groups of boys will gather around a sympathetic teacher or officer and ask the most naive questions about table manners, the use of silver and china, and the ordering of a meal from a menu. In this way some of the boys learn a little of the amenities of social life, but it still remains that at least one-half of the boys leaving Girard College do not have this opportunity as they do not attend the class suppers and are not taken on the trips mentioned. Some means of more normal living, and living in the College as boys live in other schools, seems to be the present greatest need of the Institution.

For thirteen years President Herrick has been asking for a place in the country where the boys might receive practical instruction in agriculture and spend part of their summers. That many of the more subtle elements of personality, to say nothing of many practical aspects of life, which are developed by experience in family life, by struggle with nature, and by first-hand contact with varied community life are still lacking cannot be doubted and is not doubted by those on the staff of the institution. But the Board of City Trusts, though willing last year to build an armory, has not yet seen sufficient advantage in home life to warrant a temporary arrest in the growth of the fund, in order to build normal dwellings or buy a farm. These physical settings for boy life are of course symbolic of deeper values at stake.

IT had been Girard's original intention to have his school on the block bounded by Chestnut, Market, Eleventh and Twelfth Streets. At his attorney's suggestion that a country site would be better, he added a codicil to his will and specified that it should be built on "the forty-five acres and some perches of land" on Ridge Road in Penn Township which he purchased expressly for this purpose. There the college now stands, but instead of being in the country, just outside its wall lives a dense population in typically Philadelphian row-houses, interspersed with small businesses and some industries. In spite of Girard's afterthought, the prototype of American children's institutions has come down to our time, a congregate city institution; isolated and shut off from the mounting, changing life about it by its mountains of coal no less than its ten-foot wall.

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THE HERSHEY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL: A gift of sixty millions by the chocolate manufacturer; perpetuating in 1924, an ancient orphanage model

NO more striking evidence of the influence of Girard's example after three quarters of a century can be found than the recent announcement that Milton S. Hershey had turned over his fortune to the Industrial School he had founded. He, like Girard, was a poor boy and has by good fortune and native ability built up a great estate. Like Girard, and the other will makers, he seeks also the perpetuation of his name. Like Girard, this childless man is evidently facing the closing years of his life with a grave question as to what will become of the vast wealth he has accumulated after he can hold it together no longer. Unlike Girard, he is making his open-handed gift of all that he has while he yet lives. Unlike Girard, he has not been keenly aware of progressive or even contemporary thought in the field he has entered; but rather follows all too faithfully the model of his great-grandfather's time.

The Hershey institution is set in the matrix of the industrial town that bears his name, with its two thousand inhabitants and becomes the apex of an industry with connections in Cuba and South America.

Where the Girard estate consists of securities, real estate and coal mines, Mr. Hershey's wealth, estimated at $60,000,000, is in sugar mills and cane plantations, a chocolate factory, department store, bank, amusement park, dwelling houses, hotel, and other property in Hershey, Pennsylvania, a transit company and a vast stretch of dairy farms in central Pennsylvania.

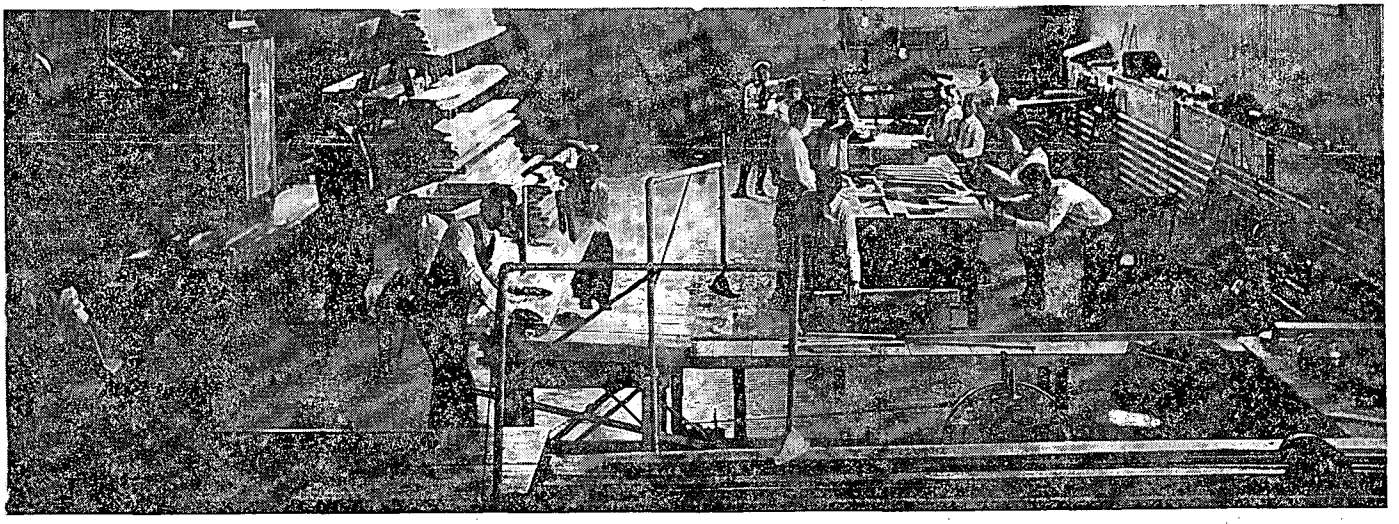
At present the school is an embryonic Girard College with a Pennsylvania Dutch agricultural and industrial flavor. In 1909 Mr. Hershey and his wife gave title to a tract of 486 acres just outside the town of Hershey to establish the school, modeling their gift largely upon Girard's will. Mr. Hershey has been especially careful to specify that the purposes for which the proceeds of his subsequent gift are to be spent shall remain unchanged throughout all time. A few modifications, however, were made in the details of the Girard plan. The donor of 1924 wants poor, white, healthy, male orphans between the ages of four and eight, indentured to the age of eighteen in his school. "The term orphan in this deed designates a child whose father is deceased." The school is non-sectarian. Echos of the will which Girard wrote nearly a century ago are plainly audible in the following:

All orphans admitted to the School shall be fed with plain, wholesome food; plainly, neatly, and comfortably clothed, without distinctive dress, and fitly lodged. Due regard shall be paid to their health; their physical training shall be attended to, and they shall have suitable and proper exercise and recreation. They shall be instructed in the several branches of a sound education, agriculture, horticulture, gardening, such mechanical trades and handicrafts as the Managers may determine, and such natural and physical sciences and practical mathematics as in the opinion of the Managers it may be important for them to acquire, and such other learning and science as the tastes, capacities, and adaptability of the several scholars may merit or warrant, to fit themselves for the trades they are to learn, and a useful occupation in life. No one fixed or established course shall be taken by all scholars, this being in the discretion of the Managers, bearing in mind that the main object in view is to train young men to useful trades and occupations, so that they can earn their own livelihood. Each and every scholar shall be required to learn, and be thoroughly instructed in some occupation or mechanical trade, so that when he leaves the School on the completion of the period for which he is to remain, he will be able to support himself.

The terms of the incorporation and deed of gift include permission to spend money for the further education of the boys, at other schools, colleges or universities.

The cottage plan of housing has been adopted; further building contemplates "colony dormitories", each to accommodate 20 boys with a centrally located hall and kitchen. The boys are grouped in the cottages according to their ages. There is one cottage for boys under six, one for those six to nine, one for those ten to twelve, and so on up to eighteen. A boy moves on from one to another of the cottages.

The funds and properties are to be administered by the Hershey Trust Company which is to turn over the proceeds to the board of managers for the school. Vacancies on the board of managers are to be filled by the Hershey Trust Company from its board of directors, a self-perpetuating body.



"The Managers shall determine the several kinds of mechanical trades to be taught, and the determination of the particular one that shall be taught to and acquired by each scholar"—from the Hershey deed of gift

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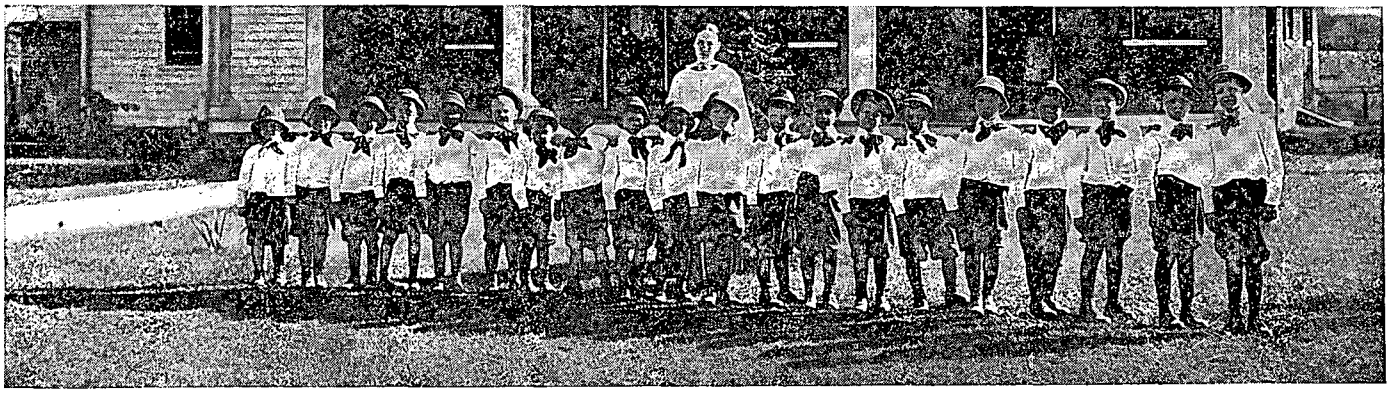


A house mother and her "family" of twenty active youngsters, all dressed up to have their pictures taken

A visit to the school, which now has 124 boys, gives one the impression of a mixture of sentiment, of frugality, of business affiliations and of somewhat primitive trial and error methods of education. The sentiment is patriarchal and not without its appeal. It appears in the way one is shown the house where Mr. Hershey was born, Mr. Hershey's first chocolate factory, now used for a dormitory, central kitchen and dining hall, Mr. Hershey's first copper chocolate basins, and other mementoes of the founder. The thrifty Pennsylvania Dutch streak comes out in the pride with which the cupboards of home canned fruit are displayed, in the plainness with which the boys are housed, in contrast with the model provisions made for the cattle and horses, poultry and swine. The central dining room with its tin cups on the tables and its thoroughly institutional appearance, the low salaries paid the teachers and superintendent, the double-deck beds in the dormitories, all bespeak an ambition to save on every corner.

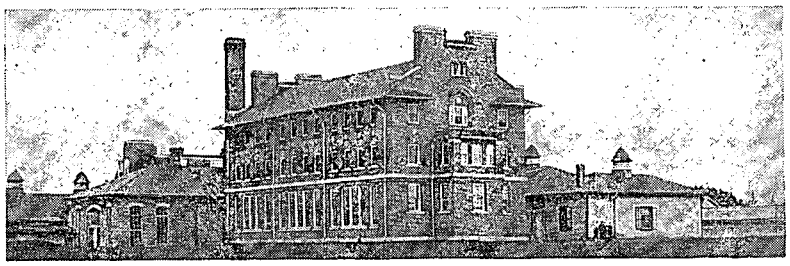
The interrelationship between the school and the business has found expression in several ways. Large dairying operations have been developed by Mr. Hershey in developing his chocolate manufacture. The Industrial School has issued a leaflet which points out that:

> Manual training, when limited to the instruction given in a school, shop or factory, influences the youth toward entering the trades; or if given in a school of engineering, architecture or design; qualifies them for and influences them toward entering the professions. The trades and professions are overcrowded with men seeking employment in urban occupations. Further additions mean a lowering of wages, and in times of business depression and labor disturbances, enforce more idleness and want.
>
> Manual training when broadened into a comprehensive, well-balanced curriculum, including technical and practical instruction and training in modern methods of agriculture, horticulture, and the various branches of animal husbandry, dairying and creamery work, will create a respect and desire for and an intelligent appreciation of the advantages of rural life, and have a tendency to check urban congestion, one of the most striking and alarming features of our modern civilization.

One cannot quite decide whether the school is a vestibule or a cupola to the business. One gets the impression that through instruction and through contact with the Hershey industrial and agricultural activities, the boys are inducted into them. This is now a normal, perhaps even unconscious process, but it raises a question as to the ultimate way it will evolve. With dairy farms and cane plantations, sugar mills and food factories as so many laboratories, the managers of Mr. Hershey's trust might make here one of the great experimental stations in relating life and work to education. Will it be an institution raising boys for the business or will it be a great industry conducted to support and educate boys? On this point the superintendent writes that those in control would be pleased if one of the students "would so develop as to be at the head of the Hershey industries and others would occupy responsible positions in them." Eighteen boys have completed the course, three of whom have remained in the town of Hershey. These eighteen boys are now occupied as follows: one bank-clerk, one clerk, one student in a technical high school, three electricians, one welder, two railroad mechanics, two painters, one horticulturist, two poultrymen and four farmers.

When one comes to the formal education offered, it is about on a par with that found in Pennsylvania villages. In the elementary school the Pennsylvania State course of instruction is followed. There are twenty-two boys to a teacher. One teacher is provided for the fifteen high school boys. The superintendent was of the opinion that they are given the equivalent of three years in secondary school. In the nearby towns of Hershey is the imposing new M. S. Hershey Consolidated School for Derry Township. A new High School is soon to be built. Why the boys in the Industrial School should be cut off from these educational advantages as well as the participation in community life which school attendance there would bring, is by no means apparent. Possibly it is because there were no public schools in Girard's time. A few mothers are employed at the School but they are not in charge of their own children.

The issues of child and family welfare raised by such anachronistic instrument in the hands of a self-perpetuating board, however sincere the motive of its founder, are apparent. The problem of controlling and molifying such trusts is one which sooner or later the public must face. Alternative lines of development open to donors and administrators are suggested later.



The school building at Hershey Industrial School

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CARSON COLLEGE FOR GIRLS: A recent creation, specialized, architecturally beautiful, with a modern spirit, where children are the prime objects of study

BASED on a will, not greatly different in type from that of Girard, the Carson College for Orphan Girls at Flourtown, Pennsylvania, has yet managed to become one of the pace makers in the field of institutional care of children. A few miles north of Philadelphia, it is an outstanding example of a highly decentralized institution. Influenced by Girard's example Robert N. Carson left in 1907 the bulk of his estate for the care and education of orphan girls. In 1916 this was valued at $3,500,000. Full orphans, poor, white, between the ages of six and ten, are eligible for admission; they must remain until they are eighteen. Mr. Carson's will specifies that they must be of at least average mental capacity and of good health.

Owing to the curious coincidence that Charles E. Ellis, a friend of Mr. Carson, died in 1909, and left an even larger estate for a similar purpose and owing to the fact that under the conditions of the wills, and in the light of the experience of other institutions for girls in Pennsylvania, it seemed doubtful whether there were enough eligible children who should be separated from family and relatives there was considerable delay in getting started. Finally a conference under the leadership of the Russell Sage Foundation was held in October, 1915, to try to devise ways in which these two bequests could be used best to further the vocational education of the children benefitting by them, and to further the interests of the whole community.

The trustees of Carson College started in 1916 to build the plant. Mr. Carson, among other things, had directed that the girls should be housed in cottages and that the buildings should be of "substantial construction in a plain, chaste style." The buildings have become famous for the beauty of their architecture and the symbolism worked into it. The low rambling stone houses with the peaked roofs and irridescent glazed tiles give the place the air of an expensive and exclusive model village.

After combing the country for a president who would and could do more than run an orphanage, the trustees appointed Elsa Ueland who had been associated with Superintendent Wirt of the Gary Schools. Under Miss Ueland's leadership and guidance, the school was opened July 1,

In the cottage family of nine, the children "help mother"

Carson College organized its own school after the better type of experimental and country day schools

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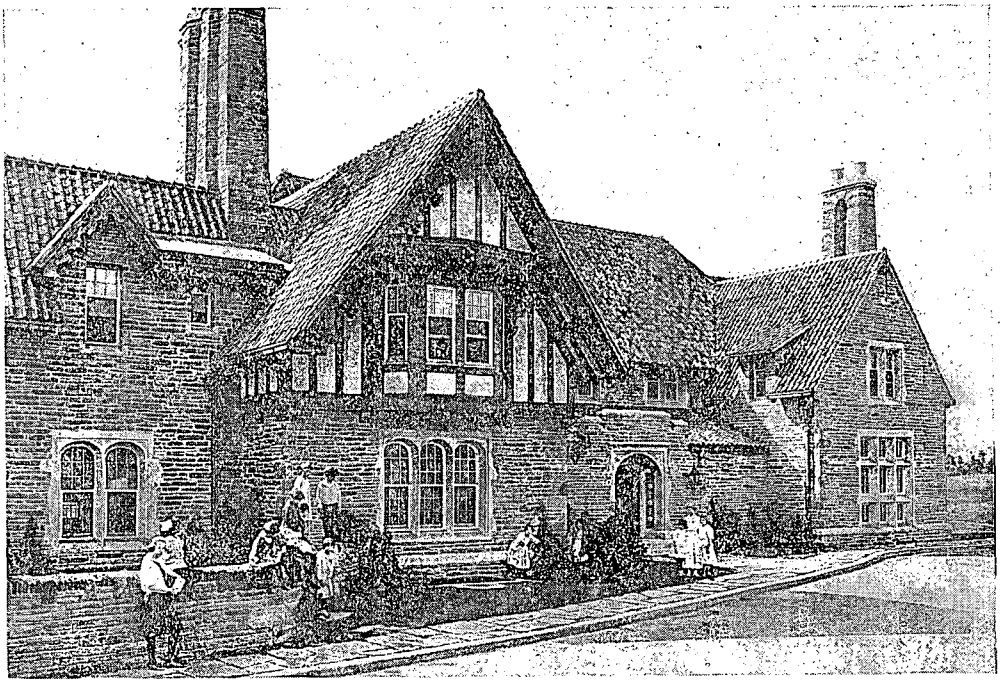
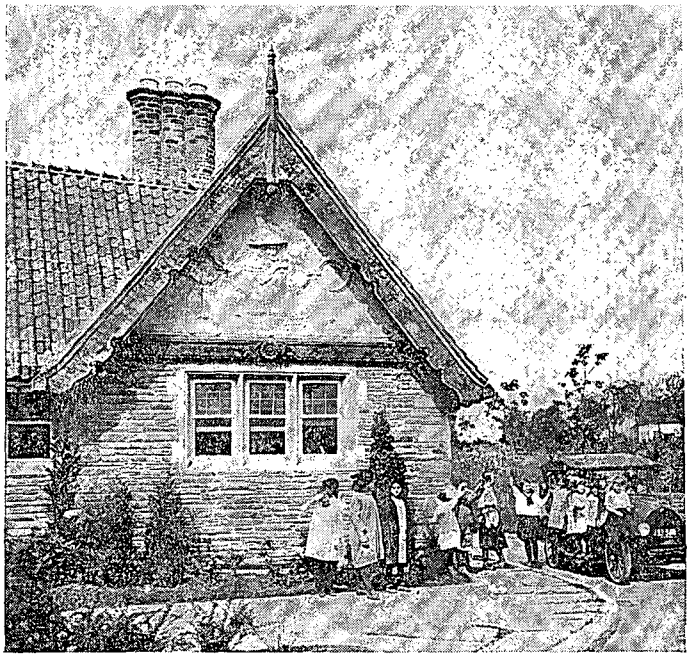
1918 and has cautiously built up its enrollment since that time. It now has ninety-five children.

It soon developed that if the building program were carried forward, under the increased building costs, the revenue might suffer seriously through reduction of principal. It also developed that the original buildings were costly to operate. It has recently been the policy of the institution to provide for expansion by renting small dwelling houses in the village of Flourtown near the institution. This housing has proved not only far less expensive, but also more liveable and suggestive of real home life in a real community than is possible with the original buildings.



Narcissus cottage is a dream-come-true of Albert W. Kelsey, architect of Carson College

It has consistently been the conviction of the President and Trustees of Carson College that there was no justification for adding to the already large collection of mediocre institutions in Pennsylvania. They have put forth every effort to reproduce for the children under their care a good home and a good school. First there is "mothering." Even the cottage system comes far short of being a home when the number of children in a cottage is three or four times as many as any mother, real or foster, can actually look after. At Carson a family of nine children of varying



Blue Cornflower cottage has a Mother Goose gable

ages is considered a fair average group that will allow genuine mothering. A mother who can, without "help," keep a house neat with nine children, and keep them fed and clothed and mended, and in addition give them home training and individual attention is a pretty busy woman. The children help, of course; otherwise she could not carry the load of all. If, however, the household increases much beyond this number there must be introduced those procedures which reduce the educational values of the children's work and increase the element of system, routine and large scale management which are necessary to get the work done. It is just at that point that "home care" begins to grow dim and "institutional care" begins to make its appearance.

Originally it was the hope of Carson College that it could with the local school authorities make a cooperative arrangement by which its children could be sent to public school in return for certain services of specialists which Carson could put at the disposal of the local schools. This obviously desirable arrangement was not acceptable to the school authorities so Carson College has had to organize its own school. It is modeled after the better grade of experimental and country day schools. Counting regular and special teachers, it allows one instructor for each ten children. The salaries for house mothers and teachers, while by no means munificent, are adequate to attract people with high qualifications.

From the beginning the children of Carson College have had a natural relationship with the neighboring children of Flourtown. This has been done by the extension of playground and gymnasium privileges at the school to the children of the village as well as by membership in the local churches. It has also been done through helping to support a community library, a community health center and the operation of a summer school in the public school building. Here under the guidance and direction of Carson College teachers the children of the town and the institution play and work together.

In Carson are found many clues to the solution of the most vexed questions of institutional care of children. What some of these clues are will be shown as these questions are reviewed in the concluding section of this article. Perhaps the best clue of all is the Carson habit of asking, "What is it that children need?" rather than "What will make this a fine institution?"

See article by Miss Ueland, Survey Midmonthly (Feb. 1924).

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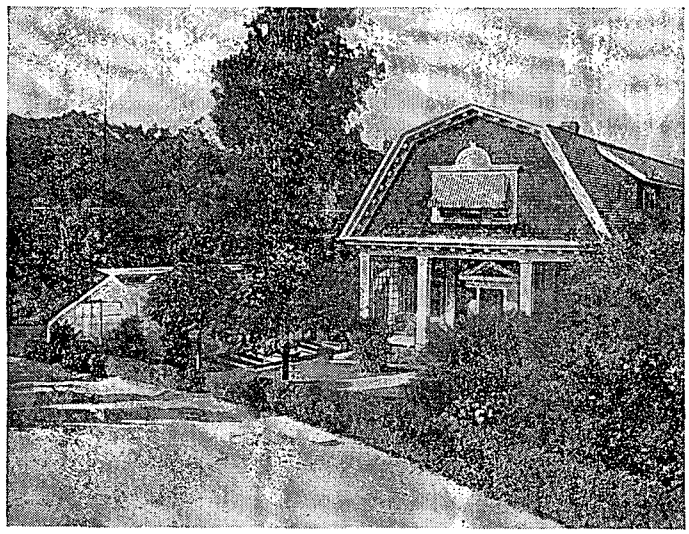
HASTINGS ON HUDSON: The New York Orphanage, a congregate city plant, with a revolutionary tradition, turned into a village of country homes

THE orphanage of the Orphan Asylum Society of the City of New York is at once one of the older and in some respects one of the newer of children's institutions in the United States: old in its origins which go back more than a century, new in its methods of care and education, new in its conception of the place of a children's institution in the scheme of the care of dependent children and new in its determination to adjust itself continuously to the changing needs of its beneficiaries. It came into existence in 1806 under the leadership of Mrs. Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, Mrs. Divie Bethune, Mrs. Harriet Rodman and Mrs. Isabella Graham. To this day it has retained its feminine control and only permits men on its advisory council. The board for 1923 consisted of seven officers and twelve other trustees.

In 1836 this society built an asylum on the block at Seventy-second street and Riverside Drive, which was doubtless considered very modern in its day, but the day was that of barracks-like institutions for children. City quarters, especially in growing New York, more and more



Dun cottage—fifteen boys live here as a family group

sternly curtailed activities in which land was a factor. Later generations of trustees came to realize the patent evils of a congregate plant. Finally one day in June, 1902, under the leadership of R. R. Reeder, who had come to superintendency from the field of public education, the orphanage moved. A small boat was chartered, and steamed up the river with the children to Hastings-on-Hudson, where a new home awaited them. With forty acres of land on the palisades overlooking the river, with ten handsome cottages that look like real dwellings in a semi-circle around a large playground, with an ample administration and school building and the other necessary equipment, the orphanage started off on a new era in its history. The spirit that encompassed this change of setting is revealed in Mr. Reeder's book, "How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn."

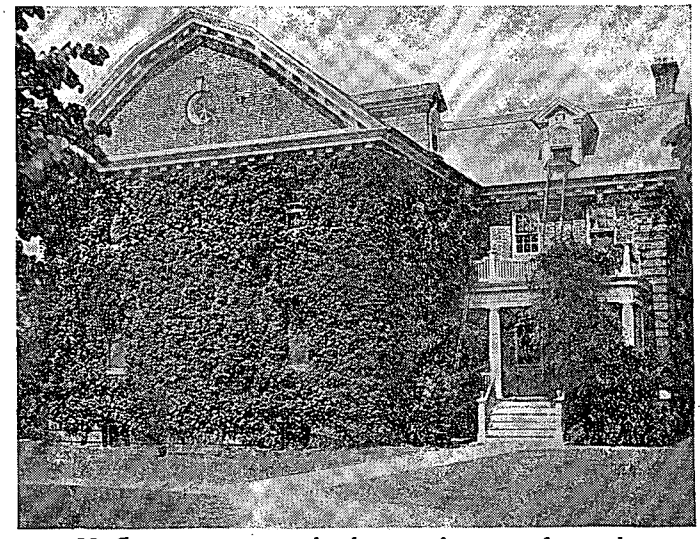
The cottages, built to house twenty-five children, are seldom used to capacity, so that twenty to twenty-two children is the usual size of a "family." The little community includes about 250 people.

According to the constitution and bylaws, orphans between the ages of three and ten years are eligible for admission. Half orphans are eligible if the surviving parent "is utterly destitute, or mentally or physically disqualified to provide for the support of the children." According to the report for the year ending March 31, 1923, nearly forty per cent of the 210 children were full orphans, fifty-four per cent were half orphans and almost all of the rest were children whose parents were improper guardians. All children are indentured to the society to the age of eighteen. While there is no rigid requirement as to the intelligence rating that a child must have, and some children there have intelligence quotients as low as seventy, children who are of low mentality and incorrigible dispositions are not accepted. Both boys and girls are accepted so that brother and sister groups can be admitted.

What the present policies of admission of this institution mean in the development of an intelligent scheme of child welfare will appear in the latter part of this discussion.

Children of both sexes under the age of six live in the same house. A group of boys ranging in age from six to sixteen compose a family; similarly a group of girls. A cottage mother is in general charge of the twenty to twenty-two children. Each cottage does its own planning, cooking, baking, mending and cleaning. An assistant matron has charge of the preparation of the food. In addition to supervising the household activities, each cottage mother "keeps in touch with the children's school work, helps them in their troubles, and as nearly as she can, takes the place of the natural mother in an ordinary family."

The orphanage maintains an elementary school composed of four regular grade teachers, each of whom has two grades. The children are in school from 8:45 a. m. to 3:15 p. m.; the New York State syllabus of instruction being that followed. A kindergartener, and five special teachers in cooking, sewing, laundry, manual training and nature study are on the staff. Each of the grade teachers and the kindergartener has from 30 to 38 children. About one-seventh of the children attend public high school and so the expense of their education is not borne by the orphanage.



Hoffman cottage is the home of twenty-five girls

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A birthday party with cake, candles and everything. When, a congregate institution, it went out to add some of the more subtle forms of education afforded by a good home and a good community, Hastings-on-Hudson threw down a challenge to every institution of the old type, content to give children only physical care and formal schooling

We endeavor [says the last annual report] to make every phase in the daily life of each child contribute to his training, whether it pertains to study, play or work. In our schools special emphasis is laid upon practical things and on the playground an effort is made to develop ideals of fair play and good sportsmanship. Children help in the care of the grounds, gardens and stock, and in the operation of the cottages. All of our girls over twelve are taught the art of cooking and baking. They make all of their own dresses and underclothes, do their own mending, and are instructed also in laundry work and in general housework. The boys are trained along various industrial lines, including agriculture, poultry raising, manual training and painting.

This institution is now laying particular stress on its efforts to keep families together; "this is probably the most important single function of the Orphanage today." One hundred fifty-five of its 210 children are members of brother and sister groups of from two to five. Twelve of the staff of forty-four persons are mothers who are in the orphanage with their children and thus thirty-four children are enabled to continue to enjoy the love and tenderness of their own mothers.

Although the Orphan Asylum Society does not publish in its annual report a statement of its assets, its statement of debits and credits shows that its net income for the fiscal year from real estate, from securities, and from mortgage loans, was about sufficient to meet its expenses.

What this orphanage, with its roots in the Revolutionary epoch, has already contributed in new point of view and in experimental work has deeply influenced the care of children all over the United States. When, a congregate institution, it went out to add some of the more subtle forms of education afforded by a good home and a good community, Hastings-on-Hudson threw down a challenge to every institution of the old type, content to give only physical care and formal schooling.

Chickens to play with, too!

— and baseball

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MOOSEHEART: The pride of a popular benevolent order which has shouldered with zestfulness into the philanthropic preserves of the big endowments

IT is a long jump from the endowed institutions to Mooseheart. The scene suddenly shifts from ordered security to bustling energy and militant zeal—from institutions built on the fortunes of elderly or deceased millionaires to one sustained by $2 annual dues by the Loyal Order of Moose, one of the newer popular fraternal orders, with membership running into the hundred thousands.

This children's institution in Northern Illinois has stirred the imagination and captured the affection of the Moose all over the country. The day the writer spent at Mooseheart there were several hundred visitors, many of whom went out from Chicago and came back on the same electric trains with her. Among them was one kindly middle-aged man whose wife is dead and whose children are married. He finds the utmost joy in visiting Mooseheart on Sundays. "When I die," he said he had told the secretary of his lodge, "I want just three words on my tomb stone—'He Loved Mooseheart.'" At nine o'clock in the evening Moose lodges look toward Mooseheart and offer prayer.

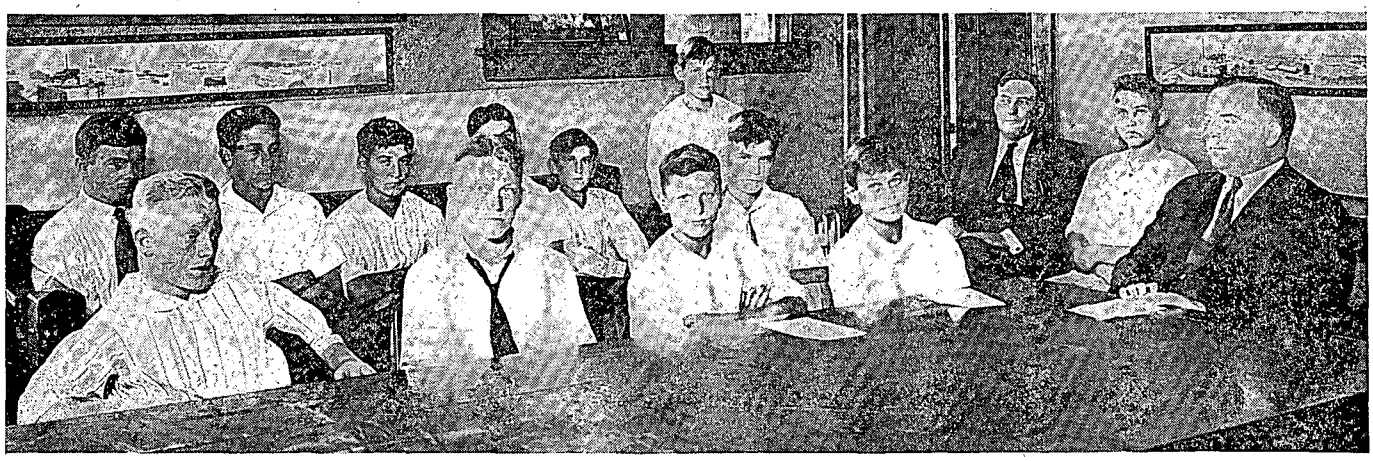
Mooseheart's story is intertwined with the rise in the world of Secretary James J. Davis of the United States Department of Labor and the jump in membership of the Loyal Order of Moose from 247 to 600,000. In his earlier days as an iron worker in the mills of Pennsylvania, Alabama and Indiana, he made the resolution to do something for the widows and children of men killed in mines and mills. A part of his solution of the problem is the institution, Moosehart. This solution combined with a second conclusion reached by Mr. Davis, as the rejuvenator and promoter of his Loyal Order: "Fraternal organizations cannot succeed in America unless they stand for something more than mere social pleasure. They must render real service; service to their membership first, perhaps, but in the end service to mankind as a whole." The order now has an outward and visible sign of this inward grace.

On its 1,023 acres of as fine land as lies out of doors, Mooseheart has over one hundred and forty structures. Of these some forty are modern, fireproof buildings of concrete, with red tile roofs. At least twenty are used in the home care of the children. Frame buildings supplement the permanent buildings. Mooseheart has a lake on its property. It operates its own water, heating and lighting systems. The institution has its own schools, church, hospital and post office.

Since 1912 when the school was opened and during the course of which seven children were enrolled, the pupil population has increased by irregular jumps to 1,089, enumerated in the last annual report. While there are no hard and fast rules about admission, comparable to those of Girard College for example, the board of governors are feeling their way along a policy which at present may admit a child in the prenatal stage and keep it to the completion of a high school education. In the last published roster of students there were some thirteen who were twenty years old. The secretary of the board of governors reports that after ten years of study of the question, his best definition of eligibility is, "The physically and mentally normal dependent children of a man who died a member in good standing of a lodge in good standing of the Loyal Order of Moose." The population, as reported for the year ending May 15, 1922, includes 84 babies and children too young to attend kindergarten, 62 kindergarten children, 392 regular grade school children, 434 "prevocational children" and 117 "vocational boys and girls." The Mooseheart community, including these 1,089 children, numbers some 1,500 people.

The children are brought from all parts of the United States including Alaska and the Canal Zone. Some of the lodges in Canada have sent children. About a quarter of the children come from Pennsylvania, which has more than 200 institutions for dependent children, a second quarter comes from the three states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois; the other half have been brought from the rest of North America. In a large proportion of the cases the children come in family groups of brothers and sisters. The last published roster shows only 443 families represented in the 1,195 children listed as in the school at any time during 1921-22. There were but 85 one-child families, 135 with two children, 114 with three, 69 with four, 21 with five, 13 with six, and 6 families with seven children.

The responsible officials of Mooseheart would seem to be trying to apply in a wholesale fashion the ideas set forth in Reeder's "How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn" and Dewey's "School and Society." In all official descrip-



The Committee of Twelve holds council with the superintendent

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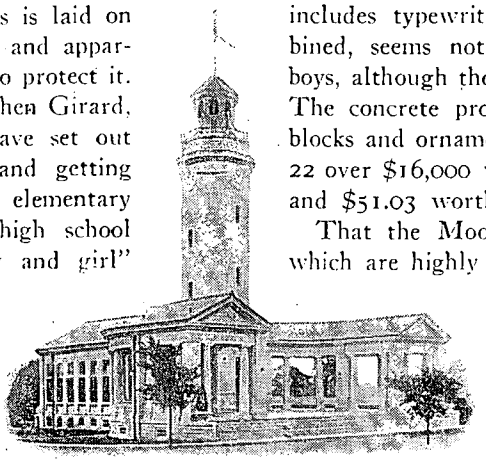
Nine o'clock, the hour when Moose lodges turn toward Mooseheart and offer prayers

tions of Mooseheart great emphasis is laid on the home atmosphere which surrounds the children. The cottage system was adopted in 1916. The 55 units mentioned in the superintendent's last report vary in size and are in charge of the staff of 43 matrons and proctors and 53 assistants. A large hall may have as many as 45 children, more recently built cottages have from 12 to 20.

There is considerable overcrowding at the present time. The absence of institutionalism is explained in that there are no uniforms, no repetition in the weekly menus, since 1916 no central dining room, but instead, cottage dining rooms with small tables. Great stress is laid on preserving the child's individuality, on the control of the children by methods of kindness and love, on the abolition of corporal punishment, on discipline through supervised self-government with a system of merits and demerits and the deprivation of privileges, and on grouping of boys or of girls ranging in age from four years up, into one "family." Although the children sleep in dormitories, they are permitted to accumulate individual possessions of various sorts. "Most of the children have a locker or closet or shelf for their very own, just as in a small family a child may have a room to him or herself." After the kindergarten age, the boys are under the direction of proctors, and the girls are presided over by matrons. Great emphasis is laid on the care of the health of the children, and apparently no pains and expense are spared to protect it.

The leaders of Mooseheart, like Stephen Girard, believe in vocational education, and have set out to train the children for livelihood and getting on in life, as well as in the ordinary elementary and secondary school subjects. "A high school education and a trade for every boy and girl" is the motto of the place. The roster of subjects taught resembles that of an up-to-date secondary school which offers, in addition to the college preparatory course without Latin or Greek, instruction in commerce, agriculture, painting, and decorating, sign painting, drafting, machine-shop practice, cement work, printing, domestic science and instrumental music. Many of the newer educational methods and devices are employed. The material equipment to teach the vocational subjects includes the farm with all of its buildings, machinery and greenhouses, a large printing establishment, a cement plant, and Industry Hall, which is built like a modern three-story factory and houses the shop trades.



The gleaming white campanile is the pride of Mooseheart

On account of the newness of the place and the rapid growth in population, the problem of providing a varied and substantial roster of vocational training is just now in process of solution. Apparently the large printing equipment has thus far not justified the hopes held when it was installed. It was expected to furnish employment to the younger children and to offer a trade to the older ones, including the girls. It was reported in 1922:

> It was soon found that modern printing on a large scale with vast presses and immense production does not fit in with the needs of boys who are trying to pick up the art in the composing rooms and presses. Only one Mooseheart boy so far has found a successful vocation in the press.

Although the farm offers many advantages to the institution, the acting director of boys' vocational work reports three graduates in agriculture and explains that it "has never been a favorite subject." The business training, which includes typewriting, stenography and accounting combined, seems not to have appealed to the Mooseheart boys, although the girls have entered it in some numbers. The concrete products plant which makes both cement blocks and ornamental concrete objects sold during 1921-22 over $16,000 worth of its products to the institution, and $51.03 worth to outside buyers.

That the Mooseheart training for the skilled trades which are highly organized is no open sesame is frankly recognized by the school authorities. "Neither Mooseheart nor any school like it can prepare a boy for any of the highly organized trades." These have their own apprenticeship requirements and guard carefully the entry into the occupation. After admitting with commendable frankness all the difficulties and handicaps

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which stand in the way of accomplishing the avowed aim of the school to train the children "for life," the school authorities are of the opinion that of the vocational subjects taught, "mechanical or architectural drafting, typewriting, stenography and accounting combined, cement block work—they may carry one straight into a place with good wages, particularly in callings where there is no stiff labor organization."

On the question of further training after leaving the institution the Mooseheart governors share the perplexities of all who are connected with secondary education. The governors yearn to see their charges go up in the world via the professions; they maintain a high school which is accredited by the University of Illinois, West Point, and Annapolis, and is an associate school with the University of Chicago. But to go farther and carry on specific college preparatory courses would be "a denial of the purpose of Mooseheart and a belittling of the field which it has chosen. It believes in the practical type of education, sets it forth and devotes its energies to that field."

The Board of Governors in 1921 commissioned one of its members, Albert Bushnell Hart, to make a nation-wide survey of schools similar to Mooseheart and to report back to it. In 1922 the governors reported to the Order that "upon the results of that survey an elaborate report is nearly ready. Whatever it sets forth, it is certain to give due credit to Mooseheart as standing in the foremost rank of the new type of elementary and secondary schools, which are giving to young people a practical, everyday, life-lasting education." This is characteristic of Mooseheart spirit—plastic, eager for new ideas on details of administration, out to show the world, but with no questioning regarding its scheme as a whole.

The concrete workshop at Mooseheart is unique

Like Hastings-on-Hudson, Mooseheart has been confronted with the problem of the mothers of these children drawn from nearly all parts of North America. It has long been a leading article in the creed of child welfare work that children should not be separated from their mothers for dependency alone. Mooseheart's position seems to be that of acquiescing in such separations, but it opens its doors to some through employment. It employs something over eighty of the possible 443 mothers of Mooseheart boys and girls. These mothers are not, however, placed in charge of their own children after the period of infancy. Visiting privileges between brothers and sisters and mothers and children are carefully regulated. The families are always united at holiday dinners. The employment of these mothers is declared to be a success: "their inspiring efforts in behalf of all the children of Mooseheart have been a very great asset."

The revenues to support Mooseheart are derived from the membership dues of the Loyal Order of Moose. Each member contributes two dollars per year to the support of the institution. For the year ending April 30, 1922, these per capita contributions amounted to $815,416.03. In addition to this, the lodges contribute to the building fund, and occasionally contribute a building or group of buildings. The Philadelphia Moose contributed the hospital. The lodges of Illinois are to give a gymnasium. The lodges of New Jersey, Alaska and Rochester, New York, have each given a dormitory. The lodges of Pennsylvania have contributed the group of five bungalows which compose the baby village. "This generosity is certain to spread" is the opinion of the governors, "and the time will come when Moose from Hawaii, from Florida and from Maine will come to admire their own buildings at Mooseheart."

As an adventure in behalf of children which at once lifts a benevolent order out of the class of a social club and gives the organization a tremendous vogue in its membership drives, Mooseheart has been a forerunner. Wide expansion and endowment seem to be the keynotes of Mooseheart policies for the immediate future. How far those policies are bound up and conditioned by the economic difficulty of maintaining the institution on a dues paying basis will be taken up after our discussion of costs.

One of the seven-children families at Mooseheart—each of which, under the per capita rate, must cost the order $7000 a year and well toward $100,000 during their minority

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II. What Pipers Must Pay

WHAT are these five institutions, so much alike in some ways, so vastly different in others, spending on the children under their care? What are they doing to Pipers' costs? It was the ambition of the writer to construct a comprehensive statistical table which would show in parallel columns the exact expenditures of each institution precisely distributed into various items; but this ambition must await fulfilment until there has been installed in all these institutions a standard accounting system which, by uniform classification, will yield comparable results. The best that can be done now is some columns of figures which give the high lights, and an appendix which explains the half tones, page 57.

Obviously, with institutions of such varied capacity, comparisons must be on a yearly per capita basis. Such are all the per capita figures given here. But, even assuming a standard classification and uniform quality of service, there are other factors which will affect their costs. Three are at once apparent. First, the age distribution of the children. Very young children require a larger measure of personal attention that do older ones. On the other hand, if current educational practices are followed, it costs more to provide schooling for the children of high-school age than for the younger ones. If, therefore, the institution maintains a policy of keeping children of the ages between six and fourteen, its costs will be comparatively low. Second, the total number of children cared for influences the per capita cost. In general, the greater the number of children, the more widely will be distributed certain of the overhead charges. The third cause for variation relates to the age of the institution; aside from capital outlay, the current expense of the first few years of operation of an institution will be relatively high.

In the actual accounting systems of these organizations, one finds the extremes of two tendencies which a secretary in one of them explained with a twinkle in his eye. "Some people," he said, "are splitters, others are lumpers." He might have added that no two lumpers lump the same way and that splitting is endlessly various. To classify precisely the costs for these five institutions from the available figures, therefore, is an impossible task. A paralyzing maze of qualifying information is necessary if one should try to compare per capita costs in detail. Impossible as such a task now is, it may be enlightening to give a picture of the chief groups into which costs may be divided and some idea of the total costs. It must be clearly understood, however, that it is not to compare and emphasize the differences in the costs of these four institutions, but rather to see what has been their common experience, that their figures are here given. The figures are taken from the reports of the fiscal years ending in 1922 except in two or three instances where a yearly average for a longer period gives a more accurate picture.

First there is the plant, furnishings and equipment; and at once our accounting difficulties arise. Values are such slippery things. On the one hand, land may be steadily increasing in value while buildings may be declining more or less rapidly. Apparently some of our institutions find the job of taking this factor into consideration too much for them, and make no attempt to count this element of cost. The best one can do at present is to set forth such facts as are entered in the reports.

TABLE I

STATED VALUES OF INSTITUTIONAL PLANTS

Hastings-on-Hudson—cost of plant			$500,000
Girard College—"nominal value"			$4,500,000
Mooseheart—			
Property accounts	$3,382,758.25		
Current Assets—			
Inventories	341,659.04		
		$3,724,417.29	
Less depreciation reserve on furnishings and equipment		193,857.40	
			$3,530,559.89
Carson College—cost of land, plant and equipment			$703,775.62
Hershey Industrial School—cost of land, plant and equipment			$341,405.97

Aside from the fact that it would now cost a much larger sum to build Hastings-on-Hudson than it did twenty years ago and that the value of Girard College is only nominal and continues the same on the books, year after year, one does get some rough idea as to the amount of money tied up in these institutions. Together the plants of the five institutions total well toward $10,000,000. Allowing interest at five per cent, and counting the average population for the year, we find that the per capita interest charges for plant alone are:

TABLE II

PER CAPITA COST OF INTEREST CHARGES ON PLANTS

Hastings-on-Hudson (210 children)	$119.05
Girard College (1527 children)	147.35
Mooseheart (1055 children)	167.42
Carson College (90 children)	390.98
Hershey Industrial School (124 children)	137.66

Combining these per capita costs with those of running the plants, and of managing the institutions, we get the following for housing and overhead:

TABLE III

PER CAPITA COST OF HOUSING AND OVERHEAD

Costs	Hastings 210 *children*	Girard 1527 *children*	Mooseh't 1055 *children*	Carson 90 *children*	Hershey 124 *children*
Item 1					
Capital costs	$119.05	$147.35	$167.42	$390.98	$137.66
Item 2					
Heat, light, water, rents, insurance, repair and replacement of equipment	84.54	121.14	193.68	161.13	102.47
Item 3					
Grounds	17.81	17.76	10.28	31.89	15.58
Item 4					
Supervision	36.70	51.47	48.59	272.04	19.17
Total housing and overhead	$258.10	$337.72	$419.97	$856.04	$274.88

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Next we come to direct costs in the home and school care of the children. These are somewhat more complicated (Hastings, for example, makes much use of the public schools), and should be studied in connection with the detailed information given in the appendix.

TABLE IV
PER CAPITA COST OF HOME CARE OF CHILDREN

	Hastings	Girard	Mooseh't	Carson	Hershey
Item 5 Food	$98.85	$143.54	$151.60	$146.00	$91.71
Item 6 Service in home care	43.18	146.27	78.44	148.00	60.27
Item 7 Food for employees in home care	10.82	21.71	27.73	24.33	8.87
Item 8 Clothing	41.17	93.43	73.76	90.00	60.58
Item 9 Health	11.97	6.88	45.03	36.11	8.79
Item 10 Laundry and cleaning	16.68	32.11	46.85	48.00	45.60
Total home care	$222.67	$443.94	$423.41	$492.44	$275.82

TABLE V
PER CAPITA COST OF SCHOOLING FURNISHED

	Hastings	Girard	Mooseh't	Carson	Hershey
Item 11 School costs	$55.13	$167.16	$150.56	$211.11	$50.65

After we have taken out of the financial statements all of the above items it would seem that we had exhausted the possibilities, but an astonishingly long list of odds and ends of expense remain.[1]

All of these may, however, be merged into one final figure, representing the total net cost of operation, so far as that has been calculated, plus the interest on the investment. Lest some reader should expect this total to balance exactly with the detailed per capita shown above, it is well to warn him beforehand that such a reconciliation will not result. The odds and ends of expense, the interdepartmental credits and deficits, depreciation and, in the case of school expense, the varying number of pupils over which the expenses are distributed, make such a reconciliation impossible.

TABLE VI
TOTAL COSTS

Hastings on Hudson		
Cost of operation (some items averaged for last three years) not including depreciation	$90,219.53	
Interest on investment	25,000.00	
		$115,219.53
Girard College		
Net cost of operation, not including depreciation	$1,296,653.96	
Interest on investment	225,000.00	
		$1,521,653.96
Mooseheart		
Total outgo, including depreciation, minus outside revenue derived from operation of school industries and trades	$905,283.15	
Interest on net investment	176,527.99	
		$1,081,811.14
Carson College		
Current expense including depreciation	$133,277.11	
Interest on investment	35,188.78	
		$168,465.89
Hershey Industrial School		
Current expense including depreciation	$69,669.82	
Interest on investment	17,070.30	
		$86,740.12

Finally we arrive at the following per capita for total costs:

TABLE VII
TOTAL PER CAPITA COSTS

	Excluding Depreciation	Including Depreciation
Hastings-on-Hudson	$548.67	
Girard College	996.47	
Mooseheart	964.62	$1,025.32
Carson College	1,686.77	1,871.84
Hershey Industrial School	641.71	699.59

THIS then is the pace which leading institutions are setting for the others now in the field and for those others which may yet be born of the general desire on the part of future Girards and Hersheys and warm-hearted lodge members to do something for little children. It becomes very evident that instead of piping first and providing afterwards, the modern piper must first consult his banker. Certainly as the first outstanding conclusion of our examination of what it costs to fill the old favorite prescription of orphanage care for orphans, it may be said that the formula is not magic. In the old days when the Cain of economy killed the Abel of true efficiency, when a suit of gray outing flannel, a diet of starch, vocational training in dishwashing and floor-scrubbing constituted "care," orphanage care was undoubtedly cheap. But when efficiency begins to fight for its life, when an institution tries to do what modern families and communities are doing, the situation suddenly changes. Let us compare, for instance, some of our lower institution costs with those of a health and decency standard family budget for five people—a mother, father and three children under working age. The lowest figures we have for interest on the institutional investment is $119.05 for Hastings-on-Hudson. It is true this covers investment for the school and grounds as well as for the homes of the children. When the $84.54 for fuel, lighting, insurance, repairs and salaries for the plant are added we get $203.59. For three children that totals $610.77. Even fairly idealistic household budgets, allowing $1,700 to $1,800 for the family seldom specify more than $360 for rent, $160 for water, light and fuel and $70 for furniture and house furnishings. Thus the family with $590 for these items scores on the first round.

Next let us take food. Our least expensive institution is the Hershey Industrial School which, it will be recalled, is closely related to a large food industry. It spends $91.71 per year per child, or $275.13 for three children. Following the usual budgetary procedure of allowing the three children in the family 200 of the 380 food units, we can set aside

[1] Hastings-on-Hudson has items for incidentals, auto repairs and supplies, summer recreation and Christmas funds. Girard has an item of $11,902.24 for athletic supplies, $22,435.99 for retiring allowances, $9,299.77 for transportation of pupils, $7,182.18 for incidentals, besides several small items. Mooseheart's elaborate and detailed financial statement shows a long list of additional minor expenses for recreation and club work. Active interdepartmental buying and selling complicates greatly the task of analyzing costs for this institution. If one department which serves several others comes out with a credit, how can that be redistributed to lower the costs of the other departments? If on the other hand it develops a deficit, how can that be taken into account? Moreover, industrial processes may yield some revenue from outside sources. Carson and Hershey each have several items left over.

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from the usual food allowance of $600 the sum of about $320 for the three children in the normal family. The family apparently cannot feed as inexpensively as Hershey nor as Hastings-on-Hudson, but it does considerably better than our other three institutions. A small institution, such as Hastings, exercising infinite pains in buying and cutting out wastes, practices thrift which is educational, in that the children share in it.

On clothing the competition between the family budget and the institution expenditures results again in a draw. The family allowance of $75.00 for an adolescent boy, $65.00 for a ten-year old girl and $40.00 for a boy of six looks quite like our line-up of costs in the various institutions.[1]

Thus we see that as institutions approach a service comparable to that of the family, they are pushed to expenditures which parallel those of the family.

To provide for the institution child the personal care given by the parents requires outlays both for supervision and for home care itself. These, again in our least expensive institutions, cost $80 per year per child or $240 for three. This is a good sized offset against the items for shelter, food and clothing of the mother in the family budget. School costs in the institutions are not dissimilar from those of public and private schools giving the same grade of instruction.

Thus we are led to the conclusion that the setting up of an institution as such offers no hope for inexpensive and at the same time good care of children. It holds no possibilities for the bargain hunter with an eye for quality in child welfare. Rather must we face the fact that in its least expensive form, with fairly large groups of children under the care of low salaried attendants and teachers, it is running neck and neck with the family and the public school. When an institution purchases the services of people who, regarding child care as a profession which requires preparation, demand salaries comparable to the compensations in equally responsible work elsewhere, and when the groups of children are reduced in size, the costs rapidly rise.

This drift toward a choice between high costs and poor service has been more clearly recognized as it has come up in connection with children thrown on the public for support. More and more the policy of institutional care of children has been questioned, more and more it has been asked whether we must not make quite sure before we put a child in an institution, that it would not be better for the child as well as less expensive for society to help his home to function for him. The whole mothers' pension movement grew out of such questionings. How justifiable were those doubts may be judged from figures compiled by the New York City Board of Child Welfare which show (1923) that for the average widow's family of 4.4 persons, the average allowance was $10.06 per week. This was augmented by the family's earnings of $9.90. The Mothers' Assistance Fund of Philadelphia in November, 1923, spent an average of $37.92 per family for the month. The families averaged slightly over four children.

If we glance back at Table III of the institutional cost figures we see that before a child has been fed, clothed, washed, mothered or instructed, the institution has spent on housing and overhead for him a sum in excess of what the legislatures in many states consider sufficient for a mother to pay all his bills except for the instruction he gets in the public school. Somehow we seem to be expecting widows to perform feats of finance of which institutions are quite incapable. That mothers' allowances should be larger seems self-evident. That there is a wide margin within which to expand before there is an outlay comparable to that of good institutions is equally apparent. Likewise foster home care can become much more costly before it begins to compare with the cost of good institutional care.

IT is not likely that public authorities, on the basis of such experience, will ever again undertake to build orphanages for orphans. But it remains to make the situation equally clear to private philanthropists and benevolent organizations.

Certainly these last need to think twice before they take as their model the Mooseheart system, which on the one hand is financed by dues paid by "honest conscientious industrious wage earners" living, let us hope, on the health and decency standard, and which on the other hand costs $1,025.32 per child. That means that for each of its 135 two-child families its yearly outlay is $2,050.64; for each of its three-child families the cost is $3,075.96; for each of its 69 four-child families it is spending $4,101.28; for each of its five-child families it lays out $5,126.60; for each of its 13 six-child families $6,151.92, and for each of its 6 seven-child families $7,177.24! It does not require great mathematical ability to figure out what at this rate it would take to raise one of these seven-child families with the baby kept for eighteen years and the other six children for periods of from eleven to seventeen years. A total cost of $100,000 for the family stares us squarely in the face.

Might one not suggest that in the long run and considering "the greatest good to the greatest number" which the supreme secretary says is the aim of the Moose, it might be well in the beginning to estimate the cost of taking care of such a family and set aside the amount in good securities at 5 per cent for the liberal support of the mother and her children. The plan would sacrifice the advertising value of a children's village with a campanile, but in the end the order would have the same hundred thousand dollars to begin earning interest for the next big family.

In other words, is it not thinkable that the next generation of the benevolent—Moose and will-makers alike—may consider endowing the widowed family rather than the institution?

Lest these conclusions be misinterpreted it must be emphasized that the way out of this dilemma is not a return to the days of cheap orphanage care. Rather are the institutions to be admonished to make sure in the use of their resources that they are giving to the children committed to them all the service necessary adequately to prepare them for the battles of life. It is only as this has been done in such institutions as Carson College (regardless of the initial cost of the plant) that we can see what such a job really costs.

Incidentally, it is only then that we can get some inkling as to the economic value of the services of good fathers and mothers.

[1] See Cost of Maintaining a Workingman's Family in Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research; also Survey Midmonthly, February, 1924, for the findings of a more recent Montana study.

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III. Koppelberg or Hamelin

THOUGH not discussed widely on the outside, these high costs have been silent but effective determiners of policy within the institutions themselves. They cannot be ignored but there are two sharply diverging paths which may be followed in the light of them. On the one hand there are the schools which take the position that only the more promising children, only those with the best social and physical heredity, should be admitted to share the advantages purchased by these large outlays. Girard College is more and more regarding itself as an endowed private school open only to boys who give promise of making good. Hershey, taking the cue, is already talking about its "strict requirements for admission." That sounds reasonable, and certainly a defined policy is to be preferred to an indiscriminate acceptance of any and every kind of child from any and every kind of circumstances. But what does selection on this basis mean? Where does it lead?

Briefly and bluntly it leads to the breaking up of the families best able, given an income, to take care of their children at home. The institution of wealth says in effect to the widow who has made a home for the child, has borne and reared it to the age of four, six or eight years: "We have the means to help your child, we will spend more on him than you can ever hope to have, but we will help him only on condition that you relinquish all claim to him and that we are given complete control over him. If it later appears that he causes us too much trouble or does not turn out well, we will return him to you."

Of course the more humane officials of these institutions taking half orphans from good parents do not put it so crudely and are more and more trying to maintain the ties between mother and child. As has been pointed out, some of them are trying through the employment of some of the mothers to avoid the more extreme instances of hardship. Under President Herrick's guidance, the policies of Girard College point more and more toward preserving the relationships between mother and boy. There is a tendency to postpone the admission of the boy until he approaches the upper age limit, instead of taking him at six. Frequent reports are made to the mothers and other responsible relatives of boys. Close contact is kept with the home and the influence of the mother is enlisted to help in getting the boys through times of trouble. Boys are encouraged to visit their homes and mothers are urged to maintain suitable homes to which they may go. Dr. Herrick reports that at the last Christmas vacation, less than a hundred boys remained at the school. The homes of many of the latter were so far from Philadelphia that the College did not feel warranted in sending them at Christmas, though they go home for a summer vacation. The president expresses the belief that an institution which seeks to replace the home is "a regrettable and undesirable arrangement."

The fact remains, however, that the legal and in most instances the actual separation of parent from child is the price which institutional care entails. The lengths to which an unscrupulous institution may go in this direction is being illustrated in a large eastern city which has an over-supply of rich endowed institutions for orphans. A late but ambitious comer on the scene—not one of those here under review—actually procured the mother's pension list, on file with the disbursing officer of the county and is canvassing the best mothers on the list to persuade them to relinquish their little girls. The widows are escorted to the school and are asked how, if they are good mothers, they can deprive their children of these benefits! Is it to be wondered that, in the face of such pressure, some of the mothers,—the more sensitive, unselfish and conscientious ones in fact—have made the sacrifice and given up their little ones? There is some quirk in any Piper's mind who quotes the good advice his own mother gave him as he explains a project which separates little boys of four from their mothers.

It is not an answer to this charge to say that some of these schools have waiting lists of children voluntarily offered by their parents. The alternatives which confront the widow frequently do not include the possibility of her receiving help comparable in extent in any other form. Where is the good mother who, if offered as a pension what the institution spends on her child, would not keep him with her?

In view of changed social conditions, in view of the changed attitude of the public toward separating young children from their mothers and finally in view of the policy of taking only children with better social, mental and physical endowment, it would seem that some of the hard problems would be solved if these institutions could find a way to raise the age limit for admission so that children of fourteen or fifteen would be admitted and kept until they were eighteen. These children could then remain with their mothers or other relatives until they were of an age when a child of any class of society may go away to school. The institution could serve a greater number of individual children, because those admitted would not be kept so long. They could also be selected from a larger number because the choice would not be confined to those left orphan only in their earliest years. Moreover, the institution could apply its resources to the development of superior means for vocational and secondary education.

THE other path toward which these high institutional costs point is in the direction of the selection of children to whom institutional care as such seems to offer something which they need—children whose heredity, training, performance or physical condition give quite another kind of promise, perhaps one should say, threat. These are the children who, left to neglect, become tools for the unscrupulous and material for the exploiter. If they have high I. Q.'s they may themselves become exploiters and crooks within the law. Our institutions for the sick, the insane, the delinquent and the down-and-out are filled with them. Sometimes they furnish business for police, courts and social agencies dealing with difficult children. Not many children's institutions have the courage to select this type of pupil. The satisfactions yielded by their training are so modest. The sneers of the eugenicists are so blighting. The health and character

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defects presented by these children are so grave and so unamenable to amateur treatment.

Of our five institutions Hasting-on-Hudson to a limited extent and Carson College very definitely have faced in the direction of taking problem children: children who after repeated trials have failed to adjust themselves when placed in foster homes, children with serious health problems, unstable children whose behavior requires special study, children who by reason of these difficulties need a highly controlled and stable environment for an extended period of time. Carson College has built up a policy of careful investigation before admission. In the course of such an inquiry and study of the situation it has sometimes been possible to reconstruct family ties even for these full orphans which promised better results for the particular child than could any institution, however intelligent and well equipped. On the other hand this policy has included the acceptance of children with grave health problems. In fact this institution has never refused admission to a child on the ground of health. And finally, Carson College has never shrunk from taking children with behavior difficulties. It has in other words been willing to take just those children whose problems are of such a nature that under any form of good care and education the expense is likely to be considerable. Its small groups of children, its highly qualified staff and its willingness to remain small and flexible have given its policy a real promise of success and an insurance against the conditions which often develop when a large group of problem children are brought together.

Here seems to be an open opportunity—for the philanthropist who would serve our generation as Girard sought to serve his. What of the fraternal order?

THE social implications of the high costs enumerated, though serious for the endowed institutions, are not of the same nature as they are for Mooseheart where there has been the attempt at a child welfare venture which Moose officials sometimes liken to insurance. The essence of insurance is the known benefit which is purchased by the payment of dues. Can there be a real insurance plan which, for relatively small dues, makes such expensive provision for beneficiaries?

The experience at Mooseheart would seem clearly to demonstrate the impossibility of such a financial miracle. As this has become clearer the Mooseheart officials have taken measures both to limit eligibility and to speed the outgo. The forms which these measures have taken have been described by the supreme secretary. In 1922 he reported that while "the virtue of Mooseheart service lies in the thought that the price is so low that the father of humble means is always able to buy it" and while "Mooseheart service is a guarantee to the parent against dependency and the consequent separation of his children from each other in the event of his death," it had become evident that Mooseheart should not admit "morons." Says the supreme secretary:

> . . . Mooseheart is not at all equipped as a correctional school. It has no policemen, no guards, no lockups, no hand cuffs, no lashes, it is built on the theory of thou shalt not'; but on the other hand its discipline is along positive lines, and is based upon the theory that the child shall have the mental ability to tell right from wrong, and to guide his own character. The moron does not know right from wrong, or if he does know it, he has not the will power to hold himself to the right.
>
> Morons require special training and special care in an institution particularly developed for that purpose. When the Mooseheart governors refuse to admit a child who on a mental test shows an 'I.Q.' (intelligence quotient) under 85, they do it with the understanding that it is for the child's own good, much as it hurts them to refuse admission to the child of a deceased brother. That child should have the special training which the states have almost without exception developed, whereby there may be thrown around that incomplete mentality the safeguards of real guardianship.

Such a rule of thumb, which classes dull children with imbeciles, is not scientifically defensible. But before a man joins the Moose, as a means of obtaining insurance, he would be prudent to find out the I. Q. of his offspring.

The second point of limitation on admission has to do with age. It will be recalled that once in, a child may remain until he is twenty but admission is generally limited to children under fourteen. Says the supreme secretary,

> Dependency certainly stops at some age. It is the feeling of the governors that this age ought to be the one at which the boy or girl can support himself and at the same time improve himself by further education. . . . There are on the board of governors itself two men who at fourteen years of age were thrown upon their own resources and improved their minds between working hours, and another who has been practically self-supporting since sixteen. It is hard to make such men believe that a fourteen-year-old boy or girl is a dependent child. It has rather consistently therefore, been their practice not to admit children who have passed their fourteenth birthday.

In some families this must mean either the separation of the children or the exclusion of the whole group.

The third limitation is somewhat vague as an actuarial factor. We must let the supreme secretary explain it himself:

> I am impressed with the belief that too small a percentage of our membership appreciate the insurance quality in Mooseheart service. In some instances men are admitted to the fraternity who are not of personal character fit to be protected for $2.00 a year under the Mooseheart plan. A man, for example, who does not support his children while he is alive certainly cannot fairly be insured under our plan. If the children are in a dependent state while he lives, they are no worse off when he is dead, and the family has suffered no loss worthy of consideration.

The speeding up of outgo at Mooseheart is called "demission." A few years ago it was the policy of "the school that trains for life" to keep a large proportion of its children until they were at least sixteen. In the year 1918-1919 51 children were "demitted." Of these only 12 were younger than eleven years; 16 were between eleven and fifteen years inclusive, while 23 were between sixteen and twenty-one years old. In 1921-1922, of the 114 children who left the school, 60 were below eleven years, 35 were between eleven and fifteen inclusive and only 19 boys and girls were between sixteen and twenty years of age. Thus the number of children who had attained sixteen or over before leaving the school dropped from 23 to 19 and from 45 to 17 per cent of the number leaving. This difference is accounted for by "a stronger insistence on demission in instances where the families have been reconstructed." Parenthetically it may well be asked just what has been bought for the $10,000 spent on the child who stays, let us say, from infancy to the age of ten. True, he gets care for a long and critical period, but he is certainly not trained for life, though a young fortune has been spent

(*Continued on page* 56)

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EDITORIALS

A WAY-MARK in the garden city movement has been reached. It is registered in the announcement that with the end of last year the first English garden city, Letchworth, has become fully self-supporting in the sense that, in addition to payment of full interest on all borrowed money from the beginning and with conservative provision for reserves, the company has begun to pay a dividend of 5 per cent upon the ordinary share capital out of accumulated profits. The company paid dividends of 4 per cent the year before and lesser rates in the previous years.

For twenty years the First Garden City Ltd. has fought for an idea still largely looked upon today as utopian in our country but fully or partially followed in other important housing schemes in England. This idea is that when town development for use is substituted for town development for profit, every reasonable demand for space, health, efficiency and beauty can be satisfied—even for the economically weakest members of a normal community. It has taken the workers from the slums of London and, with their factories, transported them among the fields and woods of Hertfordshire.

In physical arrangements, type of construction and the like, Letchworth no doubt will go the way of other model settlements; it is already in some respects being overtaken by more recent experiments. But, as a matter of fact, the town is as yet far from being built up, and the plan is so elastic that for decades to come important changes in it will be possible. Indeed, the ability to meet new needs is one of the main advantages of an uncrowded development.

Incidentally it is interesting to note that all the housing done with government aid in England under the last three administrations has been in line with the best of modern ideas in regard to lay-out and general planning. This is in contrast to certain of our newer housing developments of the last few years—as for instance, the new mill towns of South Carolina, built for the most part on cheap land. Too often these recent enterprizes have proceeded along archaic lines, as though all the work done by that gallant band of architects and others in the federal housing bureau had been mere child's play, to be discarded as soon as the war was over as of no significance whatever.

OPPONENTS of the federal child labor amendment made their final stand in March before the House Judiciary Committee, warning the country the while that the palladium of our liberties grows dimmer and dimmer or totters (whichever a palladium is supposed to do).

David Clark, editor of the Southern Textile Bulletin, Charlotte, N. C., marshalled its defenders against the vicious attacks of an army of one and one-half million working children—as represented by the proponents of the measure which has enough votes to pass once it can be got on the floor of Congress. Earlier hearings were reported in our March Midmonthly (Ghosts versus Children by Geddes Smith.) At the later hearings three State officials from North Carolina, where 12-year old boys and 14-year old girls can legally work 11 hours a day, assured the committee that the North Carolina law is working admirably and that no help from the Federal Government is needed. A legal representative of certain manufacturers' associations, assuring the committee that they favor elimination of all child labor under sixteen, made it clear that their only interest in the pending issue was to save the Republic from the development of a countless army of Federal officials and a crushing burden of taxation. It's time to call a halt, and the place to stop is just before we protect the children! When a representative of the National Child Labor Committee later asked this attorney for a list of child labor laws they had helped enact and expressed his joy that he had put them on record as favoring child labor laws up to sixteen years, the attorney hadn't the list with him.

Evidently it is not only the country that is in danger from the proposed Amendment, but even the children themselves. "When did Congress ever fail to exercise its power to the very limit" the Committee were asked. And this bill gives Congress power not only to prohibit child labor up to eighteen, but to regulate it. Seemingly, these friends of the republic and of childhood would not object so strenuously to complete prohibition of child labor, but if Congress may dictate the conditions under which it is to be performed, the injury to those of tender years is infinitely worse. The treasurer of a large New England corporation held up to horrified vision the prospect of Congress not only forbidding the employment of 17-year old boys and girls on their fathers' farms, but, still more ghastly, the forcing of children to work under detestable conditions—interfering with their education, destroying their liberty, and outraging their conscience. He open vistas which the imagination balks at exploring. Think of 17-year old boys and girls just about to enter college, snatched away by the Federal hand and forced into hateful industries! Jewish boys and girls and stalwart members of the Knights of Columbus, compelled to turn sausage grinders or spread ham sandwiches for a Baptist picnic on Friday,—or, on the other hand, blue-eyed, fair-haired Nordics compelled to work their way through college by slaving all day Sunday in Kosher meat markets!

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ON March 10, the United States Supreme Court in the case of Joseph Radice vs. People of the State of New York upheld the constitutionality of the New York State law prohibiting the employment of women in restaurants in cities of the first and second class, between the hours of ten o'clock at night and six o'clock in the morning. The reasoning upon which the Court based its decision seems to clear the ground for similar legislation elsewhere.

Opposition against the law proceeded upon the contention that it unduly and arbitrarily interferes with the liberty of two adult persons to make a contract of employment—an issue which brought together as strange bedfellows the most reactionary industrial interests and the extreme group of feminists. The Court concurred in the decision of the state legislature that the injurious consequences of night work bear more heavily against women than men and that a statute prohibiting such work therefore falls within the police power of the state to preserve the public health and welfare. This decision marks a milestone in social legislation.

TWENTY-ONE years ago President Roosevelt, in vetoing a bill to license a power dam in the Tennessee River at Muscle Shoals because it was unfair to the taxpayers, demanded for the people a "general policy appropriate to new conditions caused by the advance of electrical science." The Federal Water Power Act of 1920 fulfilled that demand. The taxpayers are now completing, at a cost of fifty-one million dollars, a mighty dam at Muscle Shoals. It will wipe out a great barrier to navigation and generate 600,000 electrical horsepower. Henry Ford has offered to form a ten million dollar corporation to lease this dam. The House has passed and sent to the Senate a bill to accept the offer. Its enactment would take the nation back into the dark ages before the Roosevelt veto.

Mr. Ford calls for a lease for one hundred years with right of renewal. The federal water power act fixes an absolute maximum of fifty years. Mr. Ford's new company can use the power in manufacturing or can wholesale it to power companies and escape all regulation of rates, service, and security issues by Alabama or by the United States. The act insures state regulation of all these, or, failing that, Federal regulation. The new company would not be bound to pay to the government profits from the use of the power in excess of a fair return on its cost. All power lessees under the Act are so bound. Mr. Ford offers as rental less than a fair return on the fifty-one million dollars invested by the taxpayers, to wit a little over three per cent. Government operation, wholesaling the output to power companies, could unquestionably earn a fair return, and a group of strong power companies has made a rival bid of four per cent. The Ford company would contribute nothing to the cost of future reservoirs on the upper river for which the Government has already made airplane surveys, although such reservoirs would vastly increase the output of power and the profits. The Act binds all power lessees to contribute equitably for that purpose. The competing bidders offer to accept all these wholesome safeguards set up in the Federal Water Power Act. Mr. Ford refuses to accept any of them.

THE farmers are generally credited with backing the Ford offer, but only one of the great formations—the Farm Bureau Federation—has urged its acceptance. The Farmers' National Council with its labor affiliations is actively opposing it. So is the Farm Congress which points out that there is a loophole in the offer so far as its assurance goes that the power generated will be used for nitrate manufacture. Back of the farmers' interest in cheap fertilizer is the general hospitality among the rank and file of people the country over toward putting in Ford's hands the materials for a gigantic experiment for the common welfare. If he wanted the Giant Cave or a Kansas cyclone as parts for his Aladdin's lamp, it would be the same. And back of Ford's stubborness in sticking to his original terms, however ill-advised, is not, we take it, greed for more wealth than he knows what to do with but a hankering to try his hand without inhibitions and interference such as he has often run up against with the government. He wants his tools and playthings to himself. Familiar with the limitations and promise of his experiments on the Rouge, we should like to see him try his muscle in a big way on the Tennessee; but not by a procedure which, as a precedent, would again throw open the water powers of the country to log-rolling and graft and would scrap the safeguards of the federal Act and what it holds out to generations to come in conservation of our natural resources. The Teapot Dome scandal may not be in vain if it serves as a Stop-Look-Listen signal which even a Ford must reckon with.

SENATOR NORRIS and his associates do not stop with opposition to the Ford offer. On March 10 he introduced in the Senate a bill designed to make Muscle Shoals what might be called the first unit in a publicly owned and operated national giant power system. The bill provides for the creation of a Federal Public Service Commission of three persons to supersede the existing Federal Power Commission, which is a licensing and regulatory body. Upon organization, the new commission would be authorized to make surveys, acquire by purchase, lease, condemnation, gift, or other legal means, land, water, water rights, transportation lines, fuel resources, plants for the production and distribution of electric energy or power; to purchase in the open market the shares of any existing power corporations and to supply electric power to any state, municipality, county, township, district, or any other political subdivision or governmental agency anywhere within the United States or its territories at cost. In other words, the bill is designed to create a national electrical power system largely after the model of the hydro-electric system of Ontario. Should the Norris bill become law it would initiate a national ownership and development policy which would go as far beyond the Roosevelt conservation program of twenty-one years ago, as that program, crystalized in the Federal Water Power Act, went beyond the era of purely private exploitation which preceded it.

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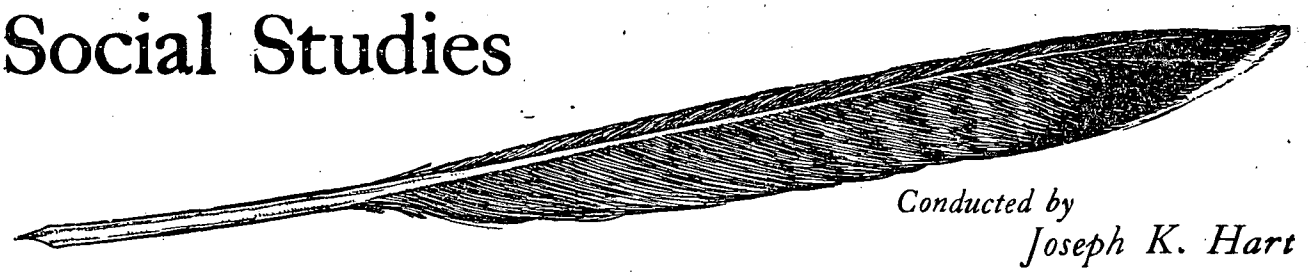
Social Studies



Conducted by
Joseph K. Hart

The Conflict Between Security and Adequacy of Life

ALL of us began our lives in a group environment—guarded from the world. All of us have, in the course of the years, found memberships in many more groups. Some of us have spread our lives over and through too many groups, dissipating our energies, losing contacts with the fundamental realities of life, becoming in the end superficial and useless. Even at that, we have not always discovered all the latent possibilities of our natures.

Some of us, on the other hand, have found too few groups: we have been denied access to the world by barriers of circumstance, or by our own timidities, and whole areas of our potential personalities have remained undeveloped, balked,—to our own loss and to the loss of the world. Group life gives to individual life the sense of reality: in the group the individual feels himself tied back to the life of the race, which seems to him to have been wrought out of the stuff of the world. In the group he has whatever reality the world itself possesses.

But in the group the individual feels himself under continuous surveillance, discipline, control. If he likes that sort of thing, there is no room for argument: that is the sort of thing he likes. But some do not like it: they would gladly exchange some bit of the security and discipline that the group offers for new ranges of experiences, with the sence of release, of adventure, that such new ranges connote. They speak for adequacy of life: "One can have too much security!" they say.

Where shall this adequacy be found? Where, but in joining more groups? At least, so the argument runs in youth. And the argument has truth in it. And fallacies as well. Joining a new group may bring a new range of experience—greater adequacy of life. It may, however, bring nothing new, save disillusionment and the sense of futility. For the world has no unity: merely taking on more of the world does not inevitably add to one's social or experiential capital. Two and one do not make three —if the one that is added is identical with some part of the original two. Men may lay group to group, as other men lay field to field, to find themselves in the end "group poor." Human experience requires something more than a problem in addition for its enrichment. It becomes enriched, if at all, by something that takes place on the inside, not by these external happenings.

Our institutions suspect this, and they warn us against attempting to take on the world by addition. Especially the school and the church feel this way about it. The church says: "Life does not consist of the multitude of one's possessions." The school says: "Education is not a matter of items of fact." The integrity of the soul, the unity of mind: these are the things that really count; and too much group life, too many dissipating ranges of experiences are likely to destroy integrity and unity.

What then do the school and the church offer as substitutes for these wide ranges of group life into which youth, in its efforts to escape from controls and to find a more adequate life, so naturally plunges? They both offer a unity and an integrity to the struggling human being—a unity and an integrity which without change in our day some find almost satisfactory. But not all. And, probably in increasing measure. more will find them unsatisfactory in the future. For the unity and the integrity which the school and the church offer to the struggling mind and soul are an old unity and an old integrity, invented by courageous men, in other ages. and fitted to other times than ours. The school offers the mind the unity that is supposed to lie in "organized knowledge." The church offers the soul the integrity that is supposed to reside in the "faith of the fathers."

But the makers of organized knowledge had no such unity of mind: that's the reason why they were *makers* of knowledge, and not mere learners of knowledge as made. The founders of the "faith of the fathers" had no such externally imposed integrity of soul, else they would never have been founders of the faith. Institutions guard the *results* of history, but tend to deprecate, ignore and as far as possible deny the *processes* of history by means of which the results they recommend were achieved. That is to say, they accept the letter of the law, after that letter has been written down; but they would gladly forget the historical processes—the spiritual sweat and blood—by means of which old ignorances and tyrannies were overthrown, a new spirit was released, and that new spirit was given its support and defense in the new letter of the law.

For these reasons, people who are struggling in the intricacies of group experience, today, find themselves in frequent rebellion against the school and the church,—and perhaps all our other institutions, as well. How shall one find adequacy of life, enrichment of experience, the wealth of beauty and truth that seems at times to lie at the end of the rainbow, without finding that deadly disillusionment, that sense of futility that has become the perpetual malaise of the modern world? These are questions which the school and the church mumble about: where are the answers to them?

Well, the answers seem to be hidden in the same place whence both the school and the church have come—that is to say, in the innermost being of man. In the as yet unexplored reaches his own social nature he may find reality of life and adequacy of life, over and above all primitive securities and all modern disillusionments!

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Our Social Institutions

A Course for High Schools

XIV. A National Culture

The word Culture usually leads us to think of people who spend their lives in leisure, probably talking about things in which most folks are but slightly interested. We think of the cultured person as being "sort of highbrow." But this is a very unfortunate use of the word. Everyone has culture of some sort. The Bushman in the wilderness; the American Indian; the Esquimaux; the Russian peasant; the diplomat at the court of St. James; the "man of the world" on the boulevards of Paris: all these have this much in common—they all have culture. Their cultures may vary widely, both in material aspects and in spirit; but they all have culture. And we shall never be able to understand the culture of any one of them until we recognize and accept the fact that all of them have culture. What then is culture? And, is there such a thing as American culture?

1. The Culture of the Pioneers

How did pioneer Americans find a livelihood? What sorts of houses did they have? What sorts of furnishings did they have for those houses? What sorts of kitchen equipment? What sorts of tools? Did they have any pictures? Or music? Did they have any "social life"? Did they have any books? Did they *know* anything? Did they have any use for minds? Did they have anything that could be called education? Did they have any religion? Any morality? How would the pioneer American compare with the modern American in these lines? Did he have anything that could rightly be called culture?

2. The Culture of Democracy

Is there any room in a democracy for culture? If all people are equal can we have any culture? Mark Twain tells a story of a group of men, of whom everyone was a gentleman, thus making it impossible for anyone in particular to be a gentleman. Is being a gentleman a matter of contrast, or is it innate quality? Is culture a matter of contrast, or is it a characteristic of the inner life? If all Americans were cultured, would that make real culture impossible? Must we have a "cultured" class and a boorish class in order to have "culture"? What would be the characteristics of a democratic culture?

What are the characteristics of the culture of a small town? How does its culture differ from that of the city? Where is the "center of culture"? How much attention to the factors and elements of cultural improvement is being expended in your community? Can a farmer be a cultured man? Can a steel worker? In his overalls? Is there conflict today between culture and industry?

3. The Bases of Culture

What has the school to do with culture? Is an educated man a cultured man? Can an ignorant man ever be cultured? Do the movies contribute to the culture of the community? What do they contribute? Do the pool and billiard halls contribute to the culture of the community? Do the churches? Do the politicians? What, if anything, does industry contribute to the culture of the community?

What are the characteristics of our American culture? Was Carol Kennicott, in Main Street, a cultured woman? What was her culture? Was George F. Babbitt, of the Zenith Rotary Club, a man of culture? What was his culture? What are the characteristics of an American man or woman of culture? How many cultural people are there in your community? How would you describe the rest of the inhabitants? Which do you prefer, the cultured person you have described, or the uncultured? Why?

References:

Carl Sandburg, Smoke and Steel.
MacKaye, Plays of the Pioneers.
James H. Tufts, Our Democracy.

Questions on Current Issues

The Sense of Direction

"How can we determine how we are to do our work when we don't even know what our work is? How are we to develop a technic when we have no sense of direction?" These are questions which are being asked by more and more people, today. And is there no escape from such questions? "The round of work" is tyranny, unless it satisfies some deep and fundamental need of the human soul. Technic is slavery unless it frees the mind from mechanical details for larger adventures in the world of personal realities. Of course, "the round of work" can become a routine that keeps going by its own momentum. Technic can become "a beautiful experience." We all know teachers, doctors, business men and editors who "go round when the wheels go round." Do we need a sense of direction, today? Is there any chance of our finding such a commodity? Should we seek for one? Or, since, as some hold, the real direction of existence is toward decay, should we forget our questions, and "live in the present moment," only?

1. Shallow Optimisms

Are there such persons as optimists in the world, today? What are their characteristics? Do they ever indulge in the activity of thinking? What do they think about war? About peace? About peace treaties? About armaments? Poison gasses? Nationalism and nationalistic rivalries? About democracy? About the problem of white civilization? To what races do these optimists belong: are they Nordics? What do they think about science? About religion? About politics? About political parties? About education?

2. Shallow Pessimisms

A pessimist has been defined as "a person who is compelled to live with an optimist." Do any such persons exist? What are the bases of their mental attitudes? Do pessimists ever think? What do they think about? What do they think about war? About peace? About science? About religion? About the past? About the present? About the future? Is pessimism an intellectual attitude? Or is it a matter of emotion? Can anyone be a real pessimist? How can a real pessimist keep on living? Is pessimism ever a pose? Is it ever anything but a pose?

3. Has Science Anything For Humanity?

Bertrand Russell suggests (see p. 5) that science has, so far, helped man to be primitive more than it has helped him to be civilized. Does that argument seem to be conclusive? What can be said on the other side of the question? Is science interested in the progress of civilization? Should it be? Should discoveries and inventions that make for war be suppressed? By whom? Does information make men more moral? Does it make them more immoral? Has the automobile made man more civilized? Is it more civilized to travel at fifty miles an hour than at five? What is civilization? Has science forwarded civilization or retarded it? Is life in a city apartment more civilized than life in a log house? Is it more moral? Is it more intelligent? Does moving from a farm to the city imply progress? What is it that the scientist is trying to do? Is there any place in a scientific "civilization" for religion? What sort of a place? What should be the task of religion in the modern industrial city? Have science and religion anything in common in the modern industrial city? Can they work together? To what ends? Or are science and religion inevitable enemies, competing for the allegiance of men?

References:

Russell, etc.

The books mentioned on this page may be obtained through The Survey Book Department.

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THE PLAY OF A BIG MAN WITH A LITTLE RIVER

(*Continued from page* 19)

folk—the farmers—into the treadmill of industrialism. His own farm and his valve production at Northville are salients of a new order of work, at field and bench, thrust out into a country side. But it is not a country side of 25-day farms, of village industries shifting their men to the fields for planting and harvesting. They are putting in a sewer system at Northville at Ford's instigation, but compared with his by-product ovens or a garden city the town is as out-of-date as a single-beam plow or an old-time windmill. He condemns the average American modern dwelling as something altogether too flimsily built to keep out heat or cold and believes Edison's poured house of concrete practicable; but there has been no cooperative housing scheme initiated at Northville and his employes live in rented houses or the homes they lived in before 1920. There has been no spreading of electricity to household and barn as in Ontario, transforming the countryside as described by Mrs. Bruère. There is no centralized cow stable to afford a common milk supply. He has preserved the Nankin Mill as a landmark, and installed a modern turbine, but it is making carbureter parts, not flour. There has been no promotion on the Rouge of "associations of farmers with their own packing houses in which their own hogs will be turned into ham and bacon and with their own flour mills in which the grain will be turned into commercial foodstuffs." He has disposed of capital investment with a gesture: but has offered no leadership as to the conservation of water rights as a public asset. His Muscle Shoals offer has run counter to the Federal Water Power Act, our soundest hope in that direction.

He has applied his ideas of division of labor to work that goes on in his wheat fields and in an old planing mill; but so far as organizing the cooperative life and labor of a single township, we have nothing whatever to compare with his strategy in the basic processes of industry, down river. You get a feeling that Ford is only half on the job.

Or it may be that human nature on its own ground is too tough a proposition for him. The thought occurred to me when I saw a dishevelled gypsy camp pitched within half a mile of the looming order of his Rouge works. Perhaps there is something too truant, too precious in a community of human beings to be put into an assembly system except for the hours in the day which we offer up to our mollified survivals of the slave gang. On the other hand, there is Ford's kinship for Burroughs, he the play boy of their camping trips, and Marquis' stories of his adventures with fur and feathers on the Ford farm. There seems to be infinite plasticity in his approach to living things. They become his friends. Yet when he set out to improve on nesting as it has been practised since the days of the Great Auk, the box he built on an iron rod, bolted to the top of a pole so that the squirrels could not get at the birds, was captured by a flying squirrel. He built rabbit shelters out of fence rails and thatched them with grass; with result that rabbits became a pest in his orchards and he had to exterminate them. Will his watershed adventure with humans go the way of such flesh?

NO such qualms were felt by his dam builder, whom I talked with, bossing his gang of country labor at the old Waterford mill site—D. T. Parmenter, a county seat character in shirt sleeves who has been in concrete work all his life and builds without blue prints and by rule of thumb in a way which would give the engineers at Highland Park a nightmare. "Ford will put these old water powers on the map and save coal and give employment," was the way he summed it up. "It's this way," he went on, a bit fussed at finding himself spokesman for his chief, "the farmer works hard all summer, sets down in winter and eats it up. In the spring he is worse off than when he started and he is a year older. Ford says, if we can give him employment in winter at good wages, why, he can buy up-to-date machines—have the money to buy them—and so make farming lighter, easier all the way around, by having this employment." I read over what I had taken down and Parmenter said he would stand for it. That was the idea in the back of Ford's head as he saw it. I had come up through country seamed with fences varying from overlapping rails of pioneer days to modern hog-proof woven wire; past gnarled and untrimmed orchards, littered barn yards backing up against red cow-barns, and flanked by horse-driven farm wagons. There were occasional silos, occasional motor cars and farm tools of the new order; but I had not chanced on a tractor. It was a countryside seemingly unmindful of Ford and all his works. We stood on the wall of cement which was going to give twenty-five feet head. Parmenter pointed to various features Henry and he had contrived, innovations over their last dam. The marshy bottom land that was to be flooded, stretched unsuspecting to the low hills that hemmed it in. My eye fell on a row of iron rings sunk in the concrete along what would some day be the rim of the dam. "Those are to tie the row boats to," said the dam builder. "Ford calculates that this is going to give the people hereabouts a lake and he's going to see to it there will be first rate fishing." Ford's touch!

After all the railroad builder who might have come upon Ford in his little brick barn at 58 Bagley Street in Detroit in the nineties would have been skeptical of anything coming of his tinkering. Here were no schemes for double tracking, for embankments or tunnels—no map of projected railroad systems; nothing to forecast the revolutionary forces compact in a small a self-driven car with half America at the steering wheel, that would be more upsetting and reconstructive to the world of transportation than a dozen new trunk lines. I have called Ford's nine dams, and his handful of little power plants on the River Rouge a laboratory. The word conveys the wrong impression if that impression is one of the scientific approach of a research department. It is more of kin to his inventor's workshop. He is puttering in it as of old. His biographers tell much of how he has reorganized factory production but they are singularly barren of anything revealing his habits as an inventor. We know at least he didn't work on a sliding assembly line, yet his production was in the end prodigious

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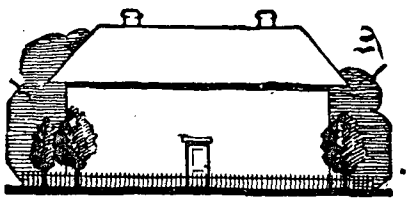

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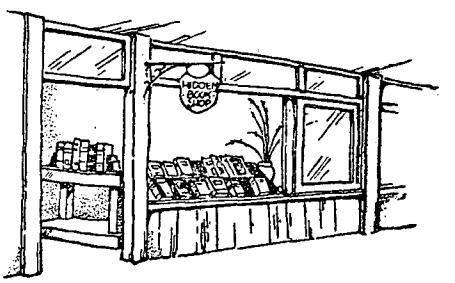

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He worked nine years and had one car that would run to show for it. At his present rate of pay, Ford put a billion dollars worth of time into that first car. That, in truth, is what society has finally paid him for it. It was Edison who first encouraged Ford to stick to his gas engine; Edison who, according to Benson, suggested to him the idea of water power development and village industries. He had been talking it for forty years and Ford was the first man "who got it and acted on it." There is a free atmosphere of invention—indefatigable but informal, almost casual to the onlooker about Ford's tinkering with dams and power plants and fields and factories up along the Rouge. That may be the most prescient thing about it. If he did it in the Highland Park manner it might go the way of the rabbit hutches. And as things stand, a little river like a little car may be big with the future—and the Rouge, more important than Muscle Shoals—or the Potomac!

THE week of my visit, the papers were full of Ford—Ford negotiating for a water power in Wisconsin, Ford taking over a lumber town entire in the Upper Peninsula, Ford buying outright a Schenectady plant to get measuring apparatus of a new fineness; Ford's railroad in a clash with the Interstate Commerce Commission; Ford's Muscle Shoals offer up again at Washington; Ford-for-President clubs springing up; Ford up to his ears in high affairs.

The morning of my visit, with 109,000 employees in foundries, machine shops and assembly plants speeded up as never before in the world; with coal mines, lumber mills, blast furnaces, glass factories serving them to the minute; with Ford agents swinging their signs in seven thousand American main streets and in twenty-five foreign countries: with buyers, raw material men, manufacturers of parts, transportation agents, milling before the information desk in the big entry at Highland Park—in itself a market for products of mine, forest, laboratory and shop with a trade greater than Novgorod—Ford was apparently as free of responsibility as any keg sitter around a grocery store. It was only afterward that I learned what high engagement was to engross the heart of his day. The newspapers carried nothing about it. He had long been on the trail of the engine he had run as a member of that threshing crew in his youth. He remembered the number—345, built by G. Westinghouse & Co. At length some of his scouts had found it; his machine shop had put it in repair and during the summer he had gone around to the farms where he used to go threshing as a boy. He offered to do their threshing again for them—free—and supply his own dinner and that of his men out of his camping caravan.

And every day he sent out a crew of men from his own farm, with his old engine in the lead and a cook wagon in the rear, to farms within a radius of twenty-five miles. He joined them; he stoked the engine, he revived his boyhood contest of the harvest fields. If he could beat the men who fed the grain, his engine would blow off steam. They played that old game all week.

As was said at the beginning, the threshing crew was Ford's first team play in which machinery, power, farm labor and a crop all figured. In its elements it comprehends the whole problem he is tackling on the Rouge. The outcome hangs on whether what he is doing is just a bit of sport and sentiment like his old threshing engine and the Wayside Inn; or the game in dead earnest.

Of all human ambitions an open mind eagerly expectant of new discoveries and ready to remould convictions in the light of added knowledge and dispelled ignorance and misapprehensions, is the noblest, the rarest and the most difficult to achieve.--James Harvey Robinson in "The Humanizing of Knowledge."

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KOPPELBERG OR HAMELIN

(*Continued from page 47*)

on him. We may also ask whether an income for the widow would not have kept the family intact throughout those years.

The plain fact would seem to be that those eligible for benefits have far exceeded the number that can, on the Mooseheart plan, be accepted. This has caused the imposition of so many limitations upon admission that the two dollars dues must be regarded, not as an insurance premium but as a contribution to the support and education of a small, highly selected group of orphans of Moose. How good a chance of entering Mooseheart has one of the estimated 7,000 to 7,500 children left fatherless each year by the members of this order? In 1921-22, 186 children were admitted. If we assume an average period of three years of dependent orphanage for each of the children left fatherless each year we may estimate a total of more than 21,000 orphan children possibly eligible at any given time for Mooseheart. Eleven hundred of these are in the institution; each year's intake of 186 must be selected from the other 19,900. Obviously some of these would not need assistance but there are undoubtedly many more eligible for Mooseheart than can possibly be taken care of.

Building more Moosehearts and enlarging the membership will not meet the situation unless members are sought among people who will send no children to the institution. The order faces the unpalatable alternatives of (1) rigid limitation of intake, or (2) raising the dues, or (3) radically changing the character of the membership, or (4) cutting down the costs, or (5) raising endowment. The Moose are at present engaged in trying the last as well as the first alternative. This will only ease up the situation a little. A ten million dollar endowment at five per cent will support a mere five hundred children at a thousand dollars per year per child. With an average period of residence of five years, only a hundred more children a year could be added to the 186 to be selected from the 19,900.

Thus does it become clear that, if it is insurance the members of a benevolent order are after, good impulses, love of children, progressive attitudes toward education cannot meet their desires. Hard-headed statistics and service charges that foot bills, are the stuff of which insurance is made

As we canvass the whole situation, the evils of poor institutional care and by the same token the evils of poor child placement, the high cost of adequate care, whether in an institution or in a supervised private home, we are driven back to the conclusion that as society is at present organized, financial as well as humanitarian interests dictate that the opportunity of the private philanthropist, millionaire or dues paying member, lies in the direction of helping to keep parents alive and well, and of raising the standards of health, education and wages, so that parents can themselves meet the responsibilities and obligations created by bringing children into the world. Child welfare in its most fundamental aspects means family welfare, school welfare, church welfare, community welfare.

The modern Piper may have a poor opinion of town and school authorities, of parents and of preachers; but as a factor in child welfare he faces the choice between going into the Koppelberg with few children at high cost or tackling the everlasting job of improving life in Hamelin.

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APPENDIX TO THE NEW PIED PIPERS:

An explanation of items entering into tables on page 43

Item 1.

IN taking the capital costs into consideration one must remember that in the case of the endowed institutions, certain requirements made by the testator's wills have unduly increased the outlays. Both Girard and Carson specified many features regarding the plant. In some particulars these have increased the costs without adding to the service, and an extraneous element is thereby introduced.

Incidentally there is need for a more precise standard system of calculating per capita costs. In these calculations, the census at the beginning and that at the end of the fiscal year were averaged and except where noted the result used as the divisor. Although there is no great danger of going radically wrong by this method, there is the possibility of much more refined calculation.

Item 2. Next after capital cost is that of operation and maintenance of the plant—heat, light, water, repair and replacement of equipment, rents and insurance.

OPERATION AND UPKEEP OF PLANT

	Total	*Per Capita*
Hastings-on-Hudson (210 children)		
Fuel and lighting, salaries for plant, repairs, rent	17,753.08	84.54
Girard (1527 children)		
Salaries, wages and supplies for heat, light and power, repairs to buildings water and furniture; insurance	184,988.86	121.14
Mooseheart (1055 children)		
Power plant, repairs to buildings and equipment, replacements, insurance	204,330.88	193.68
Carson (90 children)		
Rent, insurance, operation of plant, coal, gas, water, electricity, ice, current repairs and replacements, lawns and kitchen gardens, school grounds	14,501.86	161.13
Hershey (124 children)		
Heat and light, repairs to buildings and equipment, insurance	12,706.81	102.47

In this connection it should be remembered that these institutions differ in the extent to which they use the children's services in connection with heating, lighting and repairing. It must also be remembered that housing and service are provided not only for the children but also for resident staffs of various sizes.

Item. 3. The cost of operating the grounds overlaps in some instances with the service of the general plant as given above, so that the comparisons are not exact. Moreover the situations are not identical. The size of the grounds, the use of the children to help and the maintenance of employees engaged in this work, all affect these figures. The following facts are simply indicative of the various charges which one finds for this item.

GROUNDS

	Total	*Per Capita*
Hastings-on-Hudson		
Salaries and other expenses for care of grounds and outside work	3,739.44	17.81
Girard College		
Salaries and supplies—stable, grounds, gate and watchmen	27,112.36	17.76
Mooseheart		
Park grounds	10,845.82	10.28
Carson College		
Grounds, maintenance and general care	2,870.64	31.89
Hershey Industrial School		
Maintenance of grounds	1,931.76	15.58

Item 4. Another item on the institution bill must be settled before we begin on direct expense: supervision. There must be a head to the organization and there must be some central machinery for management. This expense would be enhanced in some instances if it were possible to calculate the cost of

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SUPERVISION

	Total	Per Capita
Hastings-on-Hudson		
Administration—salaries, maintenance for 2 employees, printing, stationery, postage and traveling	7,707.69	36.70
Girard College		
Salaries and supplies for administration of household and infirmary, of instruction and of admission and discharge	78,596.05	51.47
Mooseheart		
General administration and educational administration: salaries, supplies and miscellaneous expenditures	51,255.72	48.59
Carson College		
Board of Trustees and legal services, accounting, direction and control, admission and discharge, child study, publication, staff education, conference, traveling and stores	24,484.16	272.04
Hershey Industrial School		
Superintendence and telephone	2,377.34	19.17

Table III summarizes the per capita expense which represents interest on the investment, repairs to the buildings and equipment, light, heat, water, care of grounds, and finally, supervision. If we should add the $64,043.78 charged by Mooseheart to depreciation we should increase its $419.96 to $480.66. The addition of depreciation to the Carson cost increases it to $1,041.11, while Hershey increases to $332.76.

Item 5. With the introduction of direct expense for the children in Table IV we begin to get into a more familiar sphere. Food is the first great necessity. The food production activities of the institution and its method of supplying food to its employees greatly influence this figure. Here the per capita calculation in some instances has to be changed from the number of pupils to the number of people fed, if we would get a true picture, even of the average. Moreover, where officials have separate diets, where there are children on special diets and there are other special arrangements, one has to be careful of averages.

FOOD

	Total	Per Capita
Hastings-on-Hudson		
Provisions for 210 children and 40 employees (average for years 1921-1923); fodder and supplies for live stock	24,712.74	98.85
Girard		
Provisions for students and employees	271,903.92	143.54
Mooseheart		
Provisions for 1055 children and 193 employees	189,192.99	151.60
Carson		
Provisions for 90 children	13,140.00	146.00
Hershey		
Provisions for 124 children and 30 employees	14,123.25	91.71

Item 6. The home care of the children including the cooking and housekeeping is the next element of expense. Here again practices vary so that exactly comparable figures are quite impossible to obtain. Some institutions have subdivided this function so that the care of the children is quite separate from the functions of cooking, sewing or housekeeping. In others leadership and supervision of all these activities are combined in one person. In the case of Girard College the figures cover the salaries for the infirmary as well as the household services

COST OF SERVICE IN HOME CARE

	Total	Per Capita
Hastings-on-Hudson		
Salaries of house mothers	9,067.66	43.18
Girard		
Salaries and wages in care of pupils, subsistence and housekeeping	223,358.12	146.27
Mooseheart		
Salaries of matrons, proctors, students, cooks, janitors and dietitian	82,752.24	78.44

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Carson		
Salaries and wages in home care, including house mothers, any household assistance, substitutes for summer vacation and weekly relief	13,320.00	148.00
Hershey		
Salaries of matrons and governesses	7,473.87	60.27

Item 7. The cost of the maintenance of employed personnel, though real, is a variable both between institutions and within one institution. It may not cost much to maintain a waitress or a chambermaid, but it may on the other hand be fairly expensive to lodge and board some of the types of personnel. We have already distributed the housing costs of the entire institution, but there remains other costs incurred for the personnel who take care of the children. Food is the most important of these. The per capita service bill is increased by the following amounts:

COST OF FOOD FOR PERSONS ENGAGED IN HOME CARE OF CHILDREN

Hastings-on-Hudson (23 employees at $98.85 each)	10.82
Girard College (47 house masters and governessses, 14 nurses, 170 housekeepers, cooks, waitresses, seamstresses, etc., at $143.54 each)	21.71
Mooseheart (96 matrons, proctors and assistants and 97 other employees at $151.60 each)	27.73
Carson (15 employees at $146.00 each)	24.33
Hershey Industrial School (12 employees at $91.71 each)	8.87

Item 8. Next after housing, food and service, comes clothing. In this item the costs for sewing, tailoring, cobbling, etc., must be charged. An exact computation would require a careful allocation of all service on clothing as distinguished from household linens, and the maintenance of all employees working on clothing to this charge. Such an exact allocation has not been made by all of these institutions. The following figures doubtless give in all cases the bulk of the expense but probably not all of it, except in the case of Carson, where the cottages have complete charge of the buying and making of the clothes, and of Hastings-on-Hudson.

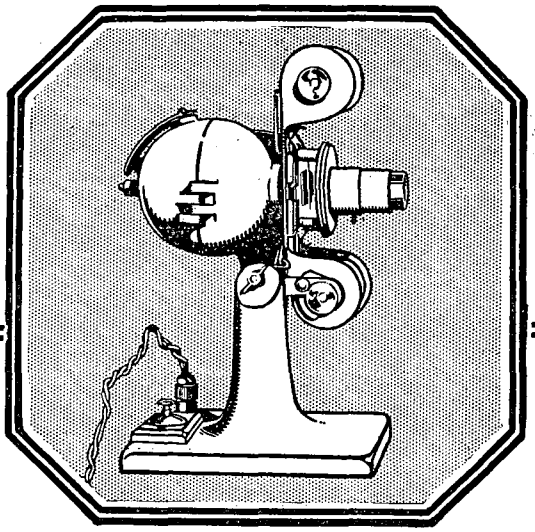
CLOTHING

	Total	*Per Capita*
Hastings-on-Hudson		
Clothing and bedding (average for years 1921-1923), salaries and maintenance of seamstresses	8,645.84	41.17
Girard		
Clothing and salaries for clothing	142,665.09	93.43
Mooseheart		
Clothing, salaries and supplies for tailor, seamstresses and cobbler	77,817.68	73.76
Carson—clothing allowance	8,100.00	90.00
The per capita represents the average clothing allowance given each girl. An average per capita saving of about $20.00 a year is made and deposited by each child in her own savings account.		
Hershey		
Clothing and seamstresses	7,511.42	60.58

Item 9. The cost of special care for illness and the removal of physical defects is an item hard to isolate in the financial statements of some institutions. In Girard College the entire cost of the service and food for the infirmary is merged with the cost of home care. This accounts for the high per capita for home care given above and the low figure for health. Moreover, as in the case of food, in some instances persons other than the children participate in the service. It is usual for employees to be treated at an infirmary, if the institution maintains one of any size. An exact procedure would not only classify separately the expenditures involved but would also keep account of all the services rendered, find the unit cost and then report the units accorded the children and the employees. The available records are here set forth for what they are worth.

HEALTH EXPENDITURES

	Total	*Per Capita*
Hastings-on-Hudson		
Medical attendance and medicine	2,512.91	11.97



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AMERICAN CHILD HEALTH ASSOCIATION—Headquarters, 532 17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.; Administrative Offices, 370 7th Avenue, New York. Herbert Hoover, President; L. Emmett Holt, M.D.;* Livingston Farrand, M.D.; Thomas D. Wood, M.D.; Mrs. Maud Wood Park, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Vice-Presidents respectively; Corcoran Thom, Treasurer; Philip Van Ingen, M.D., Secretary; Edward M. Flesh, Comptroller. To promote health among children from conception to maturity—this to be accomplished through cooperation with parents, doctors, nurses, teachers, and other health workers; by dissemination of scientific information and teaching methods in schools, through conferences, addresses, pamphlets, publicity material, and a monthly magazine, "Child Health Magazine."

* Deceased.

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THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA—C .C. Carstens, director. 130 E. 22d Street, New York City. A League of children's agencies to secure improved standards and methods in their various fields of work. It also cooperates with other children's agencies, cities, states, churches and other groups to work out worth-while results in phases of child welfare in which they are interested.

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Department of Immigrant Aid—799 Broadway. Mrs. S. J. Rosensohn, chairman. For the protection and education of immigrant women and girls.

COMMUNITY SERVICE—315 Fourth Avenue, New York City. A national civic movement for promoting citizenship through right use of leisure. It will, on request, help local communities work out leisure time programs. H. S. Braucher, secretary.

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Commission on the Church and Social Service—Rev. Worth M. Tippy, exec. sec'y; Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, research, sec'y; Agnes H. Campbell, research ass't; Inez M. Cavert, librarian.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE—Trains Negro and Indian youth for community service. Advanced courses: agriculture, builders, business, home-economics, normal. Publishes "Southern Workman" and free material on Negro problems. J. E. Gregg, principal.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS—First appointed 1854, located New York City 1866, incorporated 1883. Headquarters office, 347 Madison Ave., New York City, N. Y. Tel. Vanderbilt 1200. Branch offices, Chicago, Atlanta, Denver. Chairman, James M. Speers; Treasurer, B. H. Fancher; General Sec'y, John R. Mott. The Committee maintains a staff of executive and traveling secretaries for service in the interests of the Young Men's Christian Associations at home and abroad.

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NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE—Owen R. Lovejoy, sec'y; 1 East 104th Street, New York. Industrial, agricultural investigations. Works for improved laws and administration, children's codes. Studies health, schools, recreation, dependency, delinquency, etc. Annual membership, $2, $5, $10, $25 and $100 includes monthly bulletin, "The American Child."

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK—Grace Abbott, president, Washington, D. C.; W. H. Parker, secretary, 25 East Ninth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. The Conference is an organization to discuss the principles of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the Proceedings of the meeting, and issues a quarterly Bulletin. The fifty-first annual meeting of the Conference will be held in Toronto, Canada, June 25th to July 2nd, 1924. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of five dollars.

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NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE—Mrs. Raymond Robins, honorary president; Mrs. Maud Swartz, president; 311 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Stands for self-government in the work shop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given.

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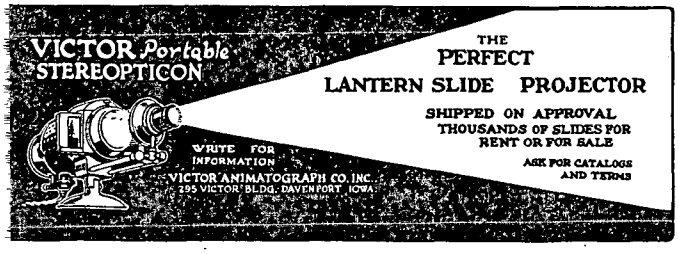

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Carson College		
Physician and consultation, infirmary, nursing, medical supplies, dentist's service and dental supplies, occulist and glasses, hospital and laboratory services	3,250.00	36.11
Hershey Industrial School		
Medical services and supplies	1,090.70	8.79

Item 10. Keeping houses and clothing clean is not to be accomplished without cost. The costs of laundry service are greatly influenced by the extent to which children do the laundry for themselves. Hastings-on-Hudson, Girard and Carson have central laundries; at Mooseheart the boys send their washing out to the central laundry but the older girls are expected to do theirs in the cottages. Hershey sends the laundry out. "Household supplies" which probably include more than household cleaning equipment and supplies are closely related to this task of keeping clean. The per capita costs here are not only based on divergent classifications of costs but they also apply to groups which in some instances includes employed personnel and in some excludes them. Whose washing and cleaning are paid for? As in the case of the infirmary, food and some of the other costs, there should be a definite unit of service and allocation to children and to employees where these are served by a central service.

LAUNDRY AND CLEANING

	Total	*Per Capita*
Hastings-on-Hudson		
Laundry and household supplies	3,502.60	16.68
Girard		
Salaries for laundry, supplies for laundry and housekeeping	49,032.80	32.11
Mooseheart		
Labor and supplies for laundry, janitor supplies	49,422.89	46.85
Carson—laundry for children only	4,320.00	48.00
Hershey—laundry	5,654.89	45.60

Item 11...School costs constitute the next large item in the bill of these institutions. Only the most careful classification of expenditures will yield comparable results in the field of costs of education. Especially is this true of institutions where, as in the case of Hastings-on-Hudson, there has been a definite aim to give every activity in the field of home care an educational significance. Moreover, there is much opportunity for going astray by averaging school costs for all grades of children. However, since this is only a rough indication of costs it may not be amiss to show the per capita distribution here:

SCHOOL COSTS

	Total	*Per Capita*
Hastings-on-Hudson		
177 children in school in institution	9,758.69	55.13
Girard College	255,246.72	167.16
Mooseheart		
1005 children in school in institution	151,312.65	150.56
Carson College	19,000.00	211.11
Hershey Industrial School		
100 children in school	5,065.35	50.65

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JEWISH Federation, 59 Green Street, Dayton, Ohio, invites applications for executive secretary. Position open May first. State qualifications and experience. Woman desired.

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COLLEGE WOMAN, writer, speaker, understands publicity and is a successful organizer, wishes connection with social service organization or publication. 4729 SURVEY.

EXECUTIVE, man 38 years, widely experienced in hospital, convalescent and recreational work. Highest credentials. 4772 SURVEY.

WOMAN executive, twelve years' experience in social work, community organization, executive secretary, settlement, foreign born work, available May first. City preferred. Non-religious. 4765 SURVEY.

WOMAN, 40, College teacher economics sociology; former Y. W. C. A. secretary editing local publication, college student composition classes; wishes position as assistant editor. 4760 SURVEY.

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EXECUTIVE, having six years' experience with juvenile delinquents, desires position as head of boys' institution. Excellent references. 4766 SURVEY.

WANTED: After July first by woman Art student and thoroughly experienced teacher of handicrafts, opening in or near large Eastern City. 4764 SURVEY.

MALE EXECUTIVE, 31 years old, nine years school, hotel and one year orphanage experience, desires superintendent's position in child-caring institution. Capable, energetic, progressive. Will go anywhre. 473 SURVEY.

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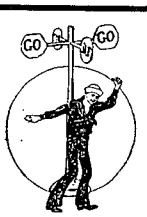

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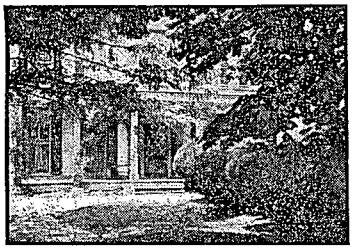

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MANUFACTURERS OF CONSENT

(*Continued from page 22*)

the problem of the high-power drugs would still remain.

The league collides with strong interests, especially the English and German and Swiss and American interests in the dispensing of highly profitable drugs such as morphine, heroin, codeine and cocaine. The aim of the league has been to hit at the drug in transit, to regulate its export and import. But the real problem would appear to be (1) to cut out the excess manufacture, each government insisting on strict supervision and the registering of each commercial package from manufacturer to consumer, and (2) to cut out the excess profit, each government taking on itself to sterilize the profiteering in vice connected even with "legal" traffic.

Neither of these programmes can be carried out by the league, except by international agreement. And it is difficult, as yet, to get international agreement even on import and export certificates. But the secretariat of the league has worked faithfully and diligently to enforce greater measures of international agreement, and in the end it will undoubtedly tie up the big drug manufacturers, expose the smugglers, and force the Indian bureaucrats to drop their insolent and inhumane programme.

The world-traffic in prostitutes seems to be favored by the existence of licensed houses in Latin countries. These countries resent any attempt by the league to make them change their system. The league secretariat is working for a fuller investigation of the whole problem of prostitution, in its international aspects, as well as for pooling of police information.

But the secretariat can only work to procure consent, as Mr. Hudson puts it; if they do procure consent, these problems can be solved. And certainly consent comes much more easily in the atmosphere and with the contacts of Geneva, than in the isolation and remoteness of foreign offices. The greatest handicap today, in fact, is the tradition of isolation. It is accountable, as regards opium and the white slave traffic, for endless and heart-breaking delays, for of course the secretariat has to work through the home governments. It cannot go out with its own broomstick and sweep away the opium evil.

As an organ of consent, however, the secretariat is magnificently designed. But what strikes the American visitor to Geneva is not the actual accomplishment of this secretariat. It is its possibilities, in such unmentioned sections as the Section on Intellectual Cooperation alone.

Think that the American Methodists spend in one year on foreign missions six times as much as all the fifty-two nations of the League of Nations spend on the entire League of Nations. Think that Britain since 1920 has spent on war preparation about two thousand times as much as it has contributed to the league; and think that France has spent four thousand times as much as it has contributed to the league—secretariat, council, assembly, commissions, conferences, labor office and all. The league is a resource of civilization almost ludicrously untried. With its annual budget of one million pounds, it is barely able to begin to sketch out its real job. It is doing an infinitesimal part of the work it can really do.

But it is built on sound lines. And it will have a bigger budget, just as soon as it manufactures a little more consent.

SILK STOCKINGS

(*Continued from page 30*)

Anna's eyes filled with tears. "I won't ever *get* a husband if I don't wear 'em," she groaned. "My mother didn't wear silk stockings because she was a foreigner. But I'm an American," she declared stoutly, "and Americans wear silk stockings."

As she said this she gazed into the outer office where three stenographers, one switchboard girl, one police woman, one probation officer, and two girls looking for jobs, were seated, and where one office supervisor and one typewriter agent were standing by the table in conversation. Five pairs of ankles were encased in faultless brown silk, two in black, one in gray, one in light tan, and the agent's trousers were pulled up to display a fancy weave of heavy silk check. The only cotton legs in sight were attached to an elderly German woman, who with muttered grunts, was washing the windows.

"All Americans don't wear them—at least it isn't necessary that they should, anyhow," added the mentor rather weakly. As she said it she curled her own ankles out of sight on the rung of her chair.

"Well, Anna," she continued desperately after a pause, during which her gaze wandered to Anna's smooth stolen hose, already straining every thread and tapering so heroically into her tight slippers. "You've got to earn more money, that's plain. You've lost your old position, but since this is your first offense the store won't prosecute, although, of course, you have got to pay for the stockings. We'll see if we can't get you a better job"—and she turned to the telephone.

"Maybe we could place her," said a pleasant voice at the other end of the wire. "But I can't see her today. Too busy. We're having special counter displays, and selling talks, to attract customers. Drop in and see our new line of fancy summer hosiery. It's going big. There may be a place for your girl at the silk hose counter, especially if she is attractive and quick."

The lady at the desk made no answer to this, but hung up the receiver with a sigh. The interview suddenly embarrassed her and she rose, telling Anna to come in tomorrow. "Maybe we can get you a nice housework job, where you can save more money and won't need to spend so much on clothes," she said brightly. "But wherever you go, you know you mustn't ever steal silk stockings again or steal anything else. You understand that, don't you?" she asked, with a gaze slightly averted from Anna's pitiful finery, already wearing out before it was paid for.

Anna turned toward the outer room in which her heavy eyes could see nothing but the sheen of twenty smooth shiny ankles, twenty mystic marks of 100 per cent Americanism, twenty symbols, indispensable yet unobtainable, of a happy citizenship toward which her whole soul yearned but from which she felt herself forever debarred. Their sleek, glistening surfaces shone and twinkled on their lucky wearers, but only in the fuzzy old German window washer could she see her own future, and the vision quenched the very fires of life within her. Her destiny—a "foreign" houseworker in cotton stockings, like that old woman.

"Yes, lady, I understand," she assented dully.

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